

British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles
in Europe, 1603–1688

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VOLUME 47

British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688

Edited by
David Worthington



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2010

Cover illustration: Seventeenth-century coat-of-arms of the Leslie family, from Ptuj Castle in Inner Austria (modern-day Slovenia).

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603–1688 / edited by David Worthington.

p. cm. — (The northern world, ISSN 1569-1462 ; v. 47)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-18008-6 (hardback : acid-free paper)

1. Scots—Europe—History—17th century. 2. Scotland—Emigration and immigration—History—17th century. 3. Irish—Europe—History—17th century. 4. Ireland—Emigration and immigration—History—17th century. 5. English—Europe—History—17th century. 6. England—Emigration and immigration—History—17th century. 7. Aliens—Europe—History—17th century. I. Worthington, David. II. Title. III. Series.

D233.2.S74B75 2010

305.82'10409032—dc22

2009044263

ISSN 1569-1462

ISBN 978 90 04 18008 6

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Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ix
List of Contributors	xi
Introduction	1
<i>David Worthington</i>	

PART ONE

IMMIGRANTS AND CIVILIAN LIFE

Community, Commodity and Commerce: The Stockholm-Scots in the Seventeenth Century	31
<i>Steve Murdoch</i>	
<i>Scoti, Cives Cracovienses</i> : Their Ethnic and Social Identity, 1570–1660	67
<i>Waldemar Kowalski</i>	
Fortress Rotterdam? Rotterdam's Scots Community and the Covenanter Cause, 1638–1688	87
<i>Douglas Catterall</i>	
Special Privileges for the Irish in the Kingdom of Castile (1601–1680): Modern Myth or Contemporary Reality?	107
<i>Ciaran O'Scea</i>	
Hidden by 1688 and After: Irish Catholic Migration to France, 1590–1685	125
<i>Éamon Ó Ciosáin</i>	

PART TWO

DIPLOMATS AND TRAVELLERS

- Murder as a Weapon of Exile: English Politics at the Spanish Court (1649–1652) 141
Igor Pérez Tostado
- Scots in Swedish Bremen and Verden (1645–1712) 161
Kathrin Zickermann
- The Gordons of Huntly: A Scottish Noble Household and its European Connections, 1603–1688 181
Barry Robertson

PART THREE

PROTESTANTS AND PATRONS

- “My Heart is a Scotch Heart”: Scottish Calvinist Exiles in France in their Continental Context: 1605–1638 197
Siobhan Talbott
- Under the Habsburgs and the Stuarts: The Leslies’ Portrait Gallery in Ptuj Castle, Slovenia 215
Polona Vidmar
- English Military Émigrés and the Protestant Cause in Europe, 1603–c. 1640 237
David J.B. Trim

PART FOUR

CATHOLICS AT HOME AND ABROAD

- Scottish Catholics Abroad, 1603–1688: Evidence Derived from the Archives of the Scots Colleges 261
Tom McNally
- Irish Franciscan Networks at Home and Abroad, 1607–1640 279
Thomas O’Connor

The English Convents in Exile and Questions of National Identity, c. 1600–1688	297
<i>Caroline Bowden</i>	
Perceptions of the British Isles and Ireland among the Catholic Exiles: The Case of Robert Corbington SJ	315
<i>Peter Davidson</i>	
Index	323

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book would never have appeared without the generous support of the Leverhulme Trust, from whom I received an Early Career Fellowship between 2005 and 2007. The Trust helped with financial assistance for the conference on which it is based, an event which took place in a sunny and warm Aberdeen in April 2007. I am also deeply thankful to the University of Aberdeen's Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, and Centre for Early Modern Studies, as well as to the Scottish Historical Review Trust for their monetary support towards the conference, as well as to numerous of my then-colleagues at Aberdeen and to those attendees who helped out with the day-to-day planning and organisation. In addition, I would like to convey my gratitude to the staff of the University of Aberdeen's Special Libraries and Archives for organising an excellent exhibition for the participants, and to Thomas Brochard, for compiling the index to the book.

Away from university, my family and friends offered me huge support throughout that time in Aberdeen and have done since, as have colleagues at the University of Wrocław and now at the Centre for History of the UHI Millennium Institute (the prospective University of the Highlands and Islands). The book would not have been completed without them.

Dornoch, June 2009

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INTRODUCTION

David Worthington

The history of our world is impossible to comprehend without reference to massive and complex movements of population. In general then, it should not surprise us that the colourful yet contested field of migration studies is one with relevant features for historians of early modern Britain and Ireland.¹ However, some landmarks are frequently neglected. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed extraordinary levels of Scottish, Irish and, to a lesser extent proportionately, English and Welsh movement eastwards to the continent and Scandinavia. The numbers, in the case of Scotland and probably also Ireland, vastly exceed those recorded with reference to British Imperial locations in the same period. Although pre-1600 figures have proven impossible to estimate, recent research has led to the assertion that somewhere between 60–80,000 Scots left for European destinations (excluding those who went to England, Wales and Ireland) between 1600–1650, with a further 10–20,000 doing the same between 1650 and 1700.² Scholars of Irish emigration, meanwhile, tend to agree that Ireland lost around 30,000 people to parts of Europe beyond the archipelago in the first half of that century, besides more than 50,000 between 1650 and 1700.³ Thus, in the period covered by this volume—the Anglo-Scottish regal union down to the ‘Glorious Revolution’—even the most cautious of guesses suggests that the emigration to the

¹ Those encountering the topic for the first time are confronted with a daunting range of publications. See Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen eds., “Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives” in Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, eds., *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Berlin: 1999), 10.

² Steve Murdoch, “Introduction” in Steve Murdoch ed. *Scotland and the Thirty Years’ War*, (Leiden: 2001) 19–20; Louis M. Cullen, “The Irish Diaspora of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” in N. Canny ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration, 1500–1800* (Oxford: 1994).

³ Cullen, “The Irish Diaspora” and T.C. Smout, N.C. Landsman, and T.M. Devine, “Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, in Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move*. Figures for England and Wales are much more elusive. See P.J. Cain, “Economics and Empire: The Metropolitan Context” in A. Porter ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: 1999).

European continent and Scandinavia of Scottish and Irish people in particular, was of profound significance when compared both with that to overseas parts of the nascent British Empire or those transfers of population which took place within the much smaller collection of polities known to many today as the British Isles.

“Over-celebrated” traditions?

Statistics do not reveal everything in migration history. In a chapter published in 1999, Keith Brown criticized the “Scotland in Europe tactic”. According to Brown, this constituted the tendency of scholars of the country’s late medieval and early modern history to conjure up impressively high figures for emigration within Europe such as those quoted above and, as a result, to follow predecessors such as Hector Boece (c. 1465–1536), in presenting glamourised pictures of the nation’s historical links with particular powers. Brown suggested, moreover, that a Europe-focused approach was of limited use for contextualising Scottish history in general, since it led inevitably to an underestimation of the importance of the country’s relations with England.⁴ In response, Steve Murdoch conceded, seven years later, that there had, indeed, been a tendency at times, among some of those interested in Scotland’s European links, to “over-celebrate” aspects of the relationship with certain continental and Scandinavian powers, and to avoid the more obvious movements of population and forms of cultural interchange connecting her with her closest neighbour to the south.⁵

Can these criticisms be made with equal force regarding accounts, not only of Scottish, but of Irish, English and Welsh emigration to European destinations over the centuries, and have these same works had any influence, in a wider sense, on collective memory? There are undoubtedly several cases where, on one hand, an ancient connection with a specific continental or Scandinavian country has been reimagined by British and Irish writers, eager to suggest a mutually

⁴ Keith M. Brown, “Seducing the Scottish Clio: Has Scottish History Anything to Fear from the New British History?” in Glenn Burgess ed., *The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603–1715* (London: 1999) 243.

⁵ Steve Murdoch, *Network North. Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006) 254. Murdoch has since developed this argument in another article. See Steve Murdoch, “Scotland, Europe and the English ‘Missing Link’”, *History Compass*, 5/3 (2007) 890–913.

beneficial relationship at the national level. Recent examples that have sought to stress the continuing influence and appeal of such traditions are the highly popular surveys written by Billy Kay and Tim Pat Coogan, proponents respectively of an approach which recognises the European origins of a posited Scottish and Irish global diaspora.⁶ On the other hand, a different kind of historiography has emerged in the last few decades too, as shall be seen. Studies of this latter type have refocused attention away from the level of the nation-state, and may be leading to a renegotiation of the very different definitions applied, consciously or otherwise, to the term ‘diaspora’, in the Scottish and Irish cases. What remains clear is that both a Scottish and an Irish dispersal of population took place in medieval and early-modern times, and that this related largely to countries lying immediately to the east and south. However, whether due to such historical connections being considered of little benefit politically, culturally, and economically, or else simply too complicated (especially in the Scottish case), outside small sections of academia or beyond the individual or family level, these continue to be forgotten. Perhaps we should even consider the notion of a ‘rediasporisation’ having taken place since the eighteenth century, at least as regards Scotland, where emigration remains associated today in public consciousness almost exclusively with English-speaking locations?⁷

The ‘Auld Alliance’ between Scotland and France would seem an obvious European example to explore as regards modern-day vestiges, in the form of linguistic borrowings, literary references, besides representations in museums or, less tangibly, the heritage industry. Indeed, in considering those traditions ‘celebrated’ by academic historians, the type that Brown criticised, it may be appropriate to reflect on the pre-1560 Franco-Scottish connection as a special case, the quote of Pope Martin V (1368–1431) alluding to the Scots as an “antidote to the English” having been employed in 2001 by Norman Macdougall in the title of a book on the subject.⁸ Two versions of the story developed amongst scholars in Scotland after the Reformation. Firstly, there

⁶ Tim Pat Coogan, *Wherever Green is Worn: The Story of the Irish Diaspora* (Basingstoke: 2001); Billy Kay, *The Scottish World: A Journey Into the Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh: 2006).

⁷ See James Clifford, “Diasporas”, *Cultural Anthropology*, 9/3 (1994), 305.

⁸ Norman Macdougall, “*An Antidote to the English: The Auld Alliance, 1295–1560*” (East Linton: 2001).

was the thread taken up by Roman Catholics, on the pretext of the Franco-Scottish relationship dating back to an eighth century treaty between Charlemagne and a King Achaius and, secondly, that taken up by Protestants, for whom the value of the alliance received reaffirmation with the advent of the Enlightenment. Thus, the complex Franco-Scottish tie—especially that of late medieval times which Boece did so much to mythologise—continues to appear more vivid in the early twenty-first century than the country's ancient links through immigration and emigration with other European powers such as the Low Countries.⁹ This is despite the city of Bruges having had a *Schottendyk* (the only wharf there named after foreigners) from as early as the thirteenth century.¹⁰ The fact that, within a century of that, the Baltic port of Danzig (Gdańsk) had a Scottish quarter, seems similarly to have lain outside of common knowledge both in Scotland and in Poland. Moreover, and notwithstanding the frequent praise of Norway in recent times as a role model for a potentially-independent Scotland, Scottish relations with the ports of her nearest eastern neighbour (at least those relating to the post-Viking age) have been relatively infrequently celebrated or commemorated outside university walls, excepting in Shetland and, to a lesser extent, Orkney. This gap might seem especially surprising considering that, as several specialists have asserted, 'the Scottish trade' (*Skottehandelen*) in timber, was a phenomenon which has led to the era from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries being referred to in Norway as 'the Scottish period' (*Skottetiden*).¹¹

As for the Irish connection with Europe, it is possible to trace a similar pattern, that is, of the lauding amongst selected scholars until well into the twentieth century of a tradition of contacts with particular states and nations, although with this having perhaps made a stronger, more longstanding impression outside academia than in the Scottish case. The idea of a 'special relationship' has been put forward most frequently with reference to France once again, although

⁹ For more on "sites of memory" and "cultural memory", see Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire" in *Representations*, 26 (1989) 7–24; Jan Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und Politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: 1992).

¹⁰ Grant Simpson ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124–1994*, (East Linton: 1996).

¹¹ Arnvid Lillehammer, "The Scottish-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Stavanger Area in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in T.C. Smout ed., *Scotland and Europe, 1200–1850* (Edinburgh: 1986) 97.

Spain and Austria also feature, as in a very different way does the Netherlands amongst those who identify with Protestant traditions.¹² Certainly, the first three locations are worth considering in more depth here regarding the pre-1688 period. For what is now France, one might start with Geoffrey Keating (Seathrun Céitinn) (c. 1570–c. 1644) who outlined, to wider acclaim than his Scottish counterparts, the story of Columbanus and the Gaelic *Scoti* ‘saints and scholars’ in Gaul from the late sixth-century. In a memorandum from 1600, which remained unpublished until 1632, Peter Lombard reasserted the role of those early missionaries, while David Rothe’s *Brigida thaumaturga*, published in Paris in 1620, covered, in addition, the story that two Irish monks (claimed as their own also by some early-modern Scottish propagandists) had been instrumental in founding that city’s university.¹³ A further boost came from the writings of one of their French hosts, Albert Le Grand, who claimed Hibernian origins for many of Brittany’s saints in a 1637 work. As late as 1920, an overtly-francophile contribution to Irish history came from James Hogan, at the beginning of a projected multi-volume enterprise that did not proceed past a first part dealing with sixteenth century connections.¹⁴ Regarding Spain, the tale that three sons of Milesius had led the first settlers to Ireland from there 3,500 years previously was a feature of the 1317 “Remonstrance” to the Papacy, and a legend that, as O’Scea’s chapter in this volume confirms, developed to the extent of becoming a “political ideology” in early modern times.¹⁵ The Milesian connection remained a background presence in academic accounts of the Irish-Spanish relationship from then until the early nineteenth century. According to Óscar Recio Morales, it may be a factor in explaining why the activities of Irish emigrants there, especially in Galicia, have

¹² Thomas O’Connor, “Ireland and Europe” in Thomas O’Connor ed., *The Irish in Europe, 1580 to 1815* (Dublin: 2001) 17.

¹³ See Thomas O’Connor, “A Justification for Foreign Intervention in Early Modern Ireland: Peter Lombard’s *Commentarius* (1600)” in Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons, eds., *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820* (Dublin: 2003) 21.

¹⁴ James Hogan, *Ireland in the European System, Volume 1: 1500–1557* (London: 1920) xi.

¹⁵ The Irish appeal to the Emperor Charles V in 1534, for example, contained the statement that “our said predecessors and ancestry did come from your Majesty’s realm of Spain”. See Óscar Recio Morales, “Irish Émigré Group Strategies of Survival, Adaptation and Integration in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Spain” in Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons eds., *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe* (Dublin: 2006) 243.

been viewed by Spanish historians until even more recent times “in a vague, somewhat romanticized fashion”.¹⁶ As regards central Europe, the ties linking early medieval *Scoti* missionaries to modern-day Austria, Slovenia, Hungary, the Czech Republic and possibly Poland, have also been brought up. For instance, they provided a foundation for the Paul Leifer and Eda Sagarra edited *Austro-Irish Links Through the Centuries*, a publication comprising the proceedings of a one-day symposium that took place in 2002 in Dublin Castle.¹⁷

The celebration or mythologising of a tradition of contacts linking Wales and England with continental Europe or Scandinavia is harder to detect. The Welsh may have been difficult to differentiate at times when on the continent in early modern times—at least if evidence from the military and intellectual spheres is to be considered of value when making more general assertions. The issue is one that David Trim’s chapter here is helpful in raising, although regarding which Caroline Bowden and Peter Davidson’s contributions offer some counter evidence.¹⁸ Meanwhile, English relations with selected powers following the loss of Calais in 1558 have been highlighted on occasion. The quote of William Harrison, who said of his compatriots in 1577: “the wise and better-minded doo either forsake the realme altogether, and seek to live in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Muscovia and verie Calecute” is suggestive of the geographical range of English emigration and exile in that period.¹⁹ The diary of the clergyman, Ralph Josselin, provides more evidence of this, besides of a high level of general awareness of events on the continent amongst literate English people of the seventeenth century, part of which must have come from returning travellers and migrants.²⁰ As regards specific relations with European polities, some have considered the close Anglo-Portuguese connection to be a consequence of the signing of a treaty between

¹⁶ Morales, “Irish Émigré Group”, 240–241.

¹⁷ The conference was designed to coincide with the opening of an exhibition at the Collins Barracks of the National Museum of Ireland. See Paul Leifer and Eda Sagarra eds., *Austro-Irish Links Through the Centuries*, (Vienna: 2002).

¹⁸ Gwyn A. Williams, *The Search for Beulah Land: The Welsh and the Atlantic Revolution* (London: 1980).

¹⁹ Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge: 1999) 38–40.

²⁰ Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith eds., *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (London: 1978), 1–2.

the two countries in 1373.²¹ Others have sought to remind their readers of the political and religious common ground shared by England and the United Provinces of the northern Netherlands, this borne of Elizabeth I's support for the Dutch in their war from 1568 against Spain. On one occasion, Elizabeth went as far as to hail the peoples of the northern Netherlands as her "ancient and familiar neighbours", a compliment that the townspeople of Flushing reciprocated in 1572 when they lauded the English as "ancient friends".²²

Although this is not the place for an extensive bibliographical essay, a cursory survey of the most well-known recent monographs and edited volumes might highlight a growing sophistication in the last few decades with respect to those nationally-focused historiographies relating to the British and Irish in Europe. Regarding Scotland, David Ditchburn's *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560*, is a book which incorporates material on expatriates in England and Ireland, and, along with several of the contributions to the volume *Scotland and Europe, 1200–1850*, edited by T.C. Smout, serves as a rich introduction to work on the pre-modern age.²³ For the early modern period, the Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch edited *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* and Murdoch's *Network North. Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* are similarly groundbreaking, while essential in providing a clearer perspective for a range of pre- and post-Reformation maritime ties is the Allan I. Macinnes, Thomas Riis and Frederik G. Pedersen edited *Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–1700*.²⁴ John R. Young has compared the pre-1707 Scottish parliament with

²¹ Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson eds., *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (Basingstoke: 2005). Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558–1603* (London: 2000); Susan Doran, *England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (Basingstoke: 1999).

²² The tie would take on renewed significance at times in the seventeenth century. Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: 1982) 3.

²³ T.C. Smout ed., *Scotland and Europe, 1200–1850* (Edinburgh: 1986); David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560* (East Linton: 2001); David Ditchburn, "Scotland and Europe" in Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald eds., *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation, c. 1100–1707, Volume One, The Scottish Nation, Origins to c. 1500* (Dundee: 2007) 103–120.

²⁴ Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005); Murdoch, *Network North*; Allan I. Macinnes,

other unicameral assemblies.²⁵ Two Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop edited volumes, *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550–1900* and *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800: A Study of Scotland and Empires*, rely on the opinions of a range of leading scholars, in order to consider the European military dimension.²⁶ James Miller has also published in recent years in that field.²⁷ As regards more precise locations, a key starting point is the Grant G. Simpson edited *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124–1994*.²⁸ With reference to the United Provinces of the northern Netherlands, Douglas Catterall's monograph is an impressive addition, while Esther Mijers' University of St Andrews thesis and the work of James Cameron and Ginny Gardner are original reassessments.²⁹ Coverage of the Scots in Scandinavia is available by means of another Grant G. Simpson edited volume.³⁰ Narrowing the focus in that latter area, dealing with Denmark there is again Steve Murdoch's work, especially his monograph *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660*, besides Thomas Riis's two-volume account.³¹ As for Sweden, Alexia

Thomas Riis and Frederik G. Pedersen, eds., *Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–1700* (East Linton: 1999).

²⁵ John R. Young, "The Scottish Parliament and European Diplomacy, 1641–1647: The Palatine, The Dutch Republic and Sweden" in Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 77–108.

²⁶ Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop eds., *Fighting for Identity: Scottish military experience, c. 1550–1900* (Leiden: 2002) and *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800: A Study of Scotland and Empires* (Leiden: 2003). See also Grant G. Simpson ed., *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247–1967* (Edinburgh: 1992).

²⁷ James Miller, *Swords for Hire: The Scottish Mercenary* (Edinburgh: 2007).

²⁸ Grant G. Simpson ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124–1994*, (East Linton: 1996).

²⁹ Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scottish Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic c. 1600–1700* (Leiden: 2002); Douglas Catterall, "At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 8 (2004) pp. 319–357; Esther Mijers, "Scotland and the United Provinces, c. 1680–1730. A Study in Intellectual and Educational Relations" (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews: 2002), 1–20. See also her "Scottish Students in the Netherlands, 1680–1730" in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 301–331; James K. Cameron, "Some Scottish Students and Teachers at the University of Leiden in the late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries", in Simpson ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries*, 122–35; Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690* (East Linton: 2004).

³⁰ Grant G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and Scandinavia, 800–1800* (Edinburgh: 1990).

³¹ Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660*, (East Linton: 2000); Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance be Forgot: Scottish-Danish Relations, c. 1450–1707*, 2 vols., (Odense: 1988).

Grosjean's *An Unofficial Alliance, Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* tackles roughly the same period.³² On France, Matthew Glozier's *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King: Nursery for Men of Honour*, both extends the chronology and adds depth to preliminary findings published by the same author in an earlier article, while this is another sub-field in which Murdoch has been active.³³ An introduction to Polish-Scottish relations can be found in the various English-language articles and chapters of Anna Biegańska and, more recently, Waldemar Kowalski.³⁴ In relation to the Scots in Russia, readers could commence with the outstanding contributions of Paul Dukes, while a work by this writer might act as a starting point regarding research on the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg dependencies.³⁵

Turning to Ireland, the most obvious introduction for those wishing to acquaint themselves with recent works are the web-site and three edited volumes that have appeared to date under the auspices of *The Irish in Europe* project, centred on the National University of Ireland Maynooth.³⁶ For trade, a range of relations with early modern Europe, including England, have been analysed by Louis Cullen and Aidan Clarke.³⁷ Strengthened international political and diplomatic

³² Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance, Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003).

³³ Matthew Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King: Nursery for Men of Honour* (Leiden: 2004) and the same author's "Scots in the French and Dutch Armies during the Thirty Years War" in Murdoch ed. *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 117–42. See also Steve Murdoch, "Fabricating Nobility? Genealogy and Social Mobility among Franco-Scottish Families in the Early Modern Period" in *Ranam: Recherches Anglaises et Américaines* (2007) and "The French Connection: Bordeaux's 'Scottish' Networks in Context, c. 1670–1720" in G. Leydier ed., *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe* (Cambridge: 2007).

³⁴ Anna Biegańska, "A Note on the Scots in Poland, 1550–1800", in Smout ed., *Scotland and Europe*, 157–166; Waldemar Kowalski, "The Place of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities*, 53–104.

³⁵ Paul Dukes, et al. *The Caledonian Phalanx: Scots in Russia*, (Edinburgh: 1987). Also important are J.W. Barnhill and Paul Dukes, "North-East Scots in Muscovy in the Seventeenth Century" in *Northern Scotland*, 1, no. 1, (1972), 49–63; D. Fedosov, *The Caledonian Connection: Scotland-Russia Ties, the Middle Ages to the early Twentieth Century* (Aberdeen: 1996); David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: 2003).

³⁶ O'Connor ed, *Irish in Europe*; O'Connor and Lyons eds., *Irish Migrants in Europe*; O'Connor and Lyons eds., *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe*. The web-site, regularly updated, can be found at www.irishineurope.com.

³⁷ Aidan Clarke, "The Irish Economy, 1600–60" in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne eds., *A New History of Ireland. III. Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*

links during the mid-seventeenth century wars have been brought to the fore by Jane Ohlmeyer and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin.³⁸ On military ties, John McGurk and Harmann Murtagh have made influential contributions.³⁹ Intellectual and ecclesiastical aspects have been examined by Helga Robinson Hammerstein, Benignus Millett, T.J. Walsh and Cathaldus Giblin, as they have been in numerous articles in *Collectanea Hibernica*, the periodical of the Irish Franciscans, and *Archivium Hibernicum*, the journal of the Catholic Record Society of Ireland.⁴⁰ Jane Ohlmeyer and Patrick Little have provided foundations for further research on Irish Protestant emigrants, especially exponents of the 'Grand Tour'.⁴¹ Moving on to particular regions, Richard F. Hayes's biographical survey relating to the Irish-French connection is being supplemented by Colm Ó Conaill.⁴² Furthermore, Mary Ann Lyons, Éamon Ó Ciosáin, Thomas O'Connor, Liam Swords and Liam Chambers are just some of a long list of scholars who have produced recent books or chapters on Ireland and France, in which a complex interplay between expatriate soldiers, scholars, clerics and traders is apparent.⁴³ As for the Iberian peninsula, Declan Downey's work com-

(Oxford: 1976) 587–637; Louis Cullen, "Galway Merchants in the Outside World" in Diarmaid Ó Cearbhaill ed., *Galway Town and Gown* (Galway: 1984).

³⁸ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, "Disrupted and Disruptive: Continental Influence on the Confederate Catholics of Ireland" in Allan I. Macinnes and Jane H. Ohlmeyer, eds., *The Stuart Kingdoms in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: 2002), 135–50; Jane H. Ohlmeyer, "Ireland Independent: Confederate Foreign Policy and International Relations during the Mid-Seventeenth Century", in Jane H. Ohlmeyer ed., *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: 1995).

³⁹ John McGurk, "Wild Geese: The Irish in European Armies (Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)" in Patrick O'Sullivan ed., *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity*, 6 vols., (Leicester: 1992–7), 1: 36–62; Harmann Murtagh, "Irish Soldiers Abroad, 1600–1800", in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey eds., *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge: 1996), 294–314.

⁴⁰ Helga Robinson Hammerstein, "Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Elizabeth I," in *Historical Studies*, 8 (1971) 137–54; Benignus Millett, O.F.M., *The Irish Franciscans, 1651–65* (Rome: 1964); T.J. Walsh, *The Irish Continental College Movement* (Cork: 1973); Cathaldus Giblin O.F.M., "The Irish Colleges on the Continent" in Liam Swords ed., *The Irish-French Connection, 1578–1978* (Paris: 1978) 9–20.

⁴¹ Patrick Little, "The New English in Europe, 1625–60", in R. Armstrong and T. Ó hAnnracháin eds., *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin: 2006).

⁴² Richard F. Hayes, *Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France* (Dublin: 1949). Ó Conaill has constructed a database of the Irish and British in eighteenth century France.

⁴³ Éamon Ó Ciosáin, "A Hundred Years of Irish Migration to France, 1590–1688" in O'Connor ed., *Irish in Europe*, 93–106; and the same author's "Regrouping in Exile: Irish Communities in Western France in the Seventeenth Century", in Armstrong and

prises an attempt to show the continuity of the connection with the Spanish Habsburgs from 1529, while relevant for the post-1607 era are the publications of R.A. Stradling, Karin Schüller, Patricia O'Connell and Glyn Redworth, to name just a few.⁴⁴

Although work on the Welsh in Europe remains lacking, the situation has begun to change as regards the study of English connections with the continent. The traditions of pilgrimage that were maintained through centuries pre- and post-dating the fictional travels of Chaucer's "Wife of Bath" have become better known due to the work of Diana Webb.⁴⁵ A work providing European angles on a specific period in English history is Jonathan Scott's *England's Troubles: Seventeenth Century English Political Instability in European Context*.⁴⁶ Worthy of special mention for highlighting the benefits of a comparative approach to early English (and British) Imperial history are Jeremy Black's *Convergence or Divergence? Britain and the Continent* and John H. Elliott's *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830*.⁴⁷ Some wider surveys of early modern English (and early British) diplomacy have also been published, as have biographies of various English diplomats (too numerous to list here).⁴⁸ A

Ó hAnnracháin eds., *Community*, 133–53; Liam Swords, *Soldiers, Scholars, Priests: A Short History of the Irish College, Paris* (Paris: 1985); Mary Ann Lyons, "The Emergence of an Irish Community in Saint-Malo, 1550–1710" in O'Connor ed., *Irish in Europe*, 107–26. Thomas O'Connor, *An Irish Theologian in Enlightenment France: Luke Joseph Hooke, 1714–94* (Dublin: 1995); Liam Chambers, "A Displaced Intelligentsia: Aspects of Irish Catholic thought in *Ancien Régime* France" in O'Connor ed., *Irish in Europe*, 157–74.

⁴⁴ Declan Downey, "Culture and Diplomacy: The Spanish Habsburg Dimension in the Irish Counter-Reformation Movement, c. 1529–1629" (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge: 1994); R.A. Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries: The Wild Geese in Spain 1618–1668*, (Blackrock: 1994); Karin Schüller, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Irland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Diplomatie, Handel und die Soziale Integration Katholischer Exulanten* (Münster: 1999); Glyn Redworth, "Beyond Faith and Fatherland: The Appeal of the Catholics of Ireland, c. 1623" in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 52 (1998) 3–23; Patricia O'Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares, 1649–1785* (Dublin: 1997).

⁴⁵ Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage* (Basingstoke: 2002).

⁴⁶ Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: 2000).

⁴⁷ Jeremy Black, *Convergence or Divergence? Britain and the Continent* (Basingstoke: 1994); John H. Elliott's *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (New York: 2006).

⁴⁸ R.B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485–1588* (London, 1966); Doran, *England and Europe*; Doran and Richardson eds., *Tudor England*.

further volume offers an impressive assessment of the cosmopolitan environment of the Stuart court at Whitehall, while there are masterful surveys of specific European interventions in English history.⁴⁹ As for emigration specifically, Alison Games has accounted for the immediate post-Reformation period.⁵⁰ On more particular locations, the fruits of extensive research are likewise beginning to appear. Two edited volumes have shed light on the English presence in France in late medieval times.⁵¹ For the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the full results of David Trim's research on Protestant soldiers in the French Wars of Religion and the Dutch Revolt await publication at the time of going to press, as does Marika Keblusek's monograph on the book culture and literary activities of exiled royalists.⁵² The work emerging from René Vermeir's project at Ghent, along with that being carried out by Caroline Bowden will, moreover, supersede Peter Guilday's *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1795* and add to a wealth of output from *Recusant History*, the journal of the English Catholic Record Society.⁵³

The “New British and Irish Histories” and Europe

Although this brief summary of recent research might seem to confirm a fairly comprehensive coverage of all the major topics, as this publication was being planned and written there still appeared to be a pressing need to focus on other, neglected issues in the historiography. These subjects included language, xenophobia, issues of gender and an over-propensity to focus on western regions of Europe. Most especially, however, those earlier criticisms of Brown and Murdoch referred to at the outset, and reflected on again by both writers in

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Parker, “The World Beyond Whitehall”, in R. Malcolm Smuts ed., *The Stuart Court and Europe* (Cambridge: 1996) 274–282; Eveline Cruickshanks ed., *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud: 2000).

⁵⁰ Games, *Migration*.

⁵¹ David Grummitt ed., *The English Experience in France c. 1450–1558: War, Diplomacy, and Cultural Exchange* (Aldershot: 2002); Glenn Richardson ed., “The Contending Kingdoms”: *France and England, 1430–1700* (Basingstoke: 2008).

⁵² Marika Keblusek, *The Exile Experience: The Book Culture of Royalists and Anglicans on the Continent (1640–1660)* (Leiden: forthcoming).

⁵³ Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1795* (London: 1914).

2005 and 2007 respectively, continued to seem pertinent, that is, that there remained at times a failure to incorporate England in work on Scottish-European ties, besides the legacy of what Jane Ohlmeyer has referred to as a “sectarian, geo-political analysis” in works on the Irish diaspora.⁵⁴ Could a further study of the British and Irish in Europe address these issues and tell us something also about the domestic history of these islands? What evidence might this volume offer as a counterbalance to the opinion that researchers interested in British and Irish expatriate groups in Europe were unable or unwilling to share ideas and experiences in a fruitful way, besides contribute anything of worth towards the study of the history of the archipelago from which the emigrants and exiles came?

A major aim of the project thus became to open up discussion and analysis of the possibility of transnational networks having existed, connections which might have linked the various British and Irish expatriates together as an identifiable unit (or even a community) in the continental and Scandinavian settings. A common Protestantism meant that a majority of the Scots and English found that they had “a lot in common” when living abroad in early modern times, as Murdoch has asserted, while Ohlmeyer has argued that the world of Scottish and Irish (and presumably also English and Welsh) expatriates in Europe, would be better viewed within “a more comparative and integrated framework”. Thomas O’Connor, Sølvi Sogner, and Lex Heerma van Voss have claimed that “parallels, symbioses and analogies now jostle for attention with inherited, hermetic certitudes” for those doing comparative work on the theme.⁵⁵ The reader will, of course, judge the success or otherwise of this book in dealing with these matters. Nevertheless, contributors such as the aforementioned David Trim and Caroline Bowden move us confidently towards the incorporation within the research agenda of the neglected body of English and Welsh emigrants and exiles in Europe. Peter Davidson and Igor

⁵⁴ Jane H. Ohlmeyer, “Seventeenth Century Ireland and Scotland and their Wider Worlds” in O’Connor and Lyons eds., *Irish Communities*, 459–60; Murdoch, “Scotland, Europe and the English ‘Missing Link’”; Keith Brown, review of Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years’ War*, in *The Innes Review*, 56 (2005), 100.

⁵⁵ Murdoch, “Introduction” in Grosjean and Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 10; Ohlmeyer “Seventeenth Century”, 459–60; Thomas O’Connor, Sølvi Sogner, and Lex Heerma van Voss, “Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks”, in Grosjean and Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 378.

Pérez Tostado's analyses here similarly consider the various national and sub-national groups together rather than in relative isolation.

It is no accident of historiography that they have come to these conclusions. One of the stated motivations of J.G.A. Pocock, a pioneer of the 'New British and Irish Histories' since the early 1970s, has been to promote a less anglocentric exploration of historical relations between the peoples of the archipelago, in which the events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are crucial.⁵⁶ Pocock sought at the outset to define "the plural history of a group of cultures situated on an Anglo-Celtic frontier marked by an increasing English political and cultural domination".⁵⁷ For him, this history could be defined, especially in the early modern period, as "a contestation over sovereignty among nations in formation" there being the chance that an understanding of it might allow for the creation of a wider non-national history that would "enhance its vitality by rendering it more problematic".⁵⁸ Furthermore, appearing to back the existence of what, in the words of Peter McLaren would comprise a form of "conservative multiculturalism", he has referred to the issues they raise as being important not only within the isles but in an "expanding zone of cultural conflict and creation", that is, including the entire British Imperial environment.⁵⁹

In many ways, there was and remains nothing exceptional in this. As much as the presence of the Scots, Irish and, from the 1670s, the Welsh, becomes integral to an understanding of the British Imperial world, so does that of African slaves, indigenous American peoples

⁵⁶ J.G.A. Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject", in *Journal of Modern History*, 47, no. 4 (1975) 601–28. To a great extent, this piece has influenced writings since on that theme. See, for instance, Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge, 1989); Norman Davies, *The Isles* (London, 1999); S.J. Connolly, ed. *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500* (Dublin: 1999); Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, eds. *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge: 1998); Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, eds. *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London: 1995); Stephen G. Ellis and Sarah Barber, eds. *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725* (Harlow: 1995); Terry Brotherstone, Anna Clark and Kevin Whelan, "Rethinking the Trajectory of Modern British History: An Ireland-Scotland approach" in Terry Brotherstone, Anna Clark and Kevin Whelan eds., *These Fissured Isles: Ireland and Scotland and British History, 1798–1848* (Edinburgh: 2005) 1–42.

⁵⁷ Pocock, "British History", 605, 620.

⁵⁸ J.G.A. Pocock, "The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary", in *American Historical Review*, 104, no. 2 (1999), 494.

⁵⁹ Peter McLaren, "White Terror and Oppositional Agency: Towards a Critical Multiculturalism" in D.T. Goldberg ed., *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: 1994) 45–74.

and fellow Europeans. Indeed, many of those who lived their lives in the service of other overseas empires, did so in settings that were as ethnically complex as that in which, for example, *Pakeha* (comprising a body of largely British and Irish settlers “flung together”, in the words of the English visitor Thomas Cholmondeley in 1854) and *Maori* would encounter each other later in New Zealand.⁶⁰ Moreover, heterogeneous, multilingual groups had travelled and settled beyond the boundaries of the European continent already in late medieval times. Long before England—and despite expelling its Jewish and, eventually, its Morisco populations—Spain acted as a magnet for some from within Christendom, who arrived in its port cities to seek work and, later, the possibility of imperial postings. Although groups from outside the Spanish dependencies were officially banned from serving abroad (as, internally, were those originating from a host of other minorities) it is clear, furthermore, that the body of 200,000 or more who departed from Iberian ports for the Americas between 1493 and 1650 included within it a multi-lingual and relatively multi-ethnic mix of the type referred to in detail here by O’Scea.⁶¹ As for the Dutch empire, in the absence of restrictions of the Spanish type based on ‘purity of blood’ (*limpieza de sangre*), the ethnic and national ingredients are, even from a strictly eurocentric perspective, strikingly diverse. As Catterall’s chapter on Scottish ethnicity in Rotterdam here suggests, many travelled across demanding linguistic and cultural frontiers to the cities of the northern Netherlands as both seasonal and permanent settlers, the attractions being the opportunities available there for labour or for military service within an international environment that was relatively tolerant of different religions and ethnicities.⁶²

These brief comparisons with the Spanish and the Dutch situations support the assertion that the formation of societies in many other territories claimed by continental powers overseas might be considered, like in the English and subsequently British empires, as involving

⁶⁰ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000* (London: 2001) 220; Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (London: 2003) 175–76, 366–67.

⁶¹ Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, “The First Transatlantic Transfer: Spanish Migration to the New World, 1493–1810” in Canny ed., *Europeans on the Move*, 26–38.

⁶² Jan Lucassen, “The Netherlands, the Dutch, and Long-Distance Migration, in the Late Sixteenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries” in Canny ed., *Europeans on the Move*, 153–191.

“a kaleidoscopic movement of people, goods, and ideas”.⁶³ That latter allusion, which Armitage and Braddick applied with reference to the ‘British North Atlantic’ (the entity which has been the main focus of research for those working on the ‘New British and Irish Histories’) could as easily be made, often with an emphasis on a bloody red in the colour spectrum, as regards other European overseas and Imperial environments. But Armitage and Braddick’s use of this metaphor was evidently meant, as was Pocock’s evocation of a multicultural space, to apply as much to the situation within the archipelago as to that outside. As regards demographic evidence for interaction *within* the isles, surviving evidence from the pre-census age suggests that short-range and temporary migrations were a common feature of life as were, increasingly, more permanent movements of people, particularly the English and Scots, westwards. Leaving aside English migration to Wales and the occasional movement of English servants to serve some of the wealthier nobility in Scotland, Ireland acted as a “laboratory for empire” for England and, after 1603, for Great Britain. Following the forfeiture of 300,000 acres of property in Munster in the south-west in 1583, English settlers began to settle in the Irish landscape at an average rate of some 1,000 per year. The Scottish-engineered plantation of the Isle of Lewis in the 1590s, and the localised population movements directed by the earl of Argyll in the western mainland and southern Hebrides soon after, can be seen in some way both as being influenced by this, besides as being a precursor to the Ulster Plantation. With these examples lies some of the background to the arrival of an estimated 100,000 English and Scottish people in Ireland from 1603 and 1641 (20–30,000 from Scotland and 70,000 from England) and, between 1650 and 1700, another 170,000–210,000 (60–100,000 from Scotland, and 110,000 from England).⁶⁴

Although the early attempts at plantation in Ireland provide the most obvious and dramatic evidence of mobility within and between the Three Kingdoms during the 1603–1688 period, England too, especially London, attracted significant numbers of immigrants from Wales, Scotland and Ireland: deserted wives, unmarried (and some-

⁶³ David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke: 2002) 1.

⁶⁴ Patrick Fitzgerald, “Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century”, in Grosjean and Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 31; Cullen, “The Irish Diaspora”.

times pregnant) women, trampers, pedlars, farm and domestic servants, coalminers, shipyard workers, scholars, and, in London, financiers and courtiers. In the capital, besides a Welsh community, a Scottish enclave grew, with clubs and societies supported by the Royal Scottish Corporation, while the “London Irish” (a community which included some of those Galway families merchant houses involved in the West India trade by 1688) became concentrated in eastern, riverside parishes.⁶⁵

Yet as much has been written about continental European immigrants in London during this period as about the Irish, Scots and Welsh. The Dutch, Flemings, Walloons, French Huguenots, Palatinate Germans, Swiss and Rhinelanders, were all represented there besides in other English provincial cities. Indeed, Andrew Pettegree’s analysis of this with respect to the late sixteenth century employs many of the techniques used by the most pioneering of the recent writers on the Scottish and Irish micro-communities in Europe and, in this book, by Murdoch and Kowalski on Stockholm and Cracow respectively.⁶⁶ Thus, spiritual institutions, informal economies, language, return migration, complex patterns of assimilation and acculturation are all touched on, as are the tensions brought about by overcrowding and fear of the spread of disease, which lead to outbursts of xenophobia within the host community. Illustrative of this latter phenomenon is the fact that, although recorded aggression against immigrants in London can be traced in the medieval period, the anti-stranger riot of 1517 that became known as the “Evil May Day” became particularly notorious. Anti-foreigner violence broke out again in 1551, 1563, 1571 and 1579–81 with petitions and plays suggesting to later historians how the French and Spanish in particular were seen at times by Protestant Londoners as a threat. It is clear that some of the immigrants from the continent returned as a result of their experiences, often to have an influence on their homelands.⁶⁷

With such an international mix of Europeans arriving and leaving London, it is unsurprising that the metropole also funnelled large numbers of her British and Irish migrant population onwards to the

⁶⁵ Ian Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550–1830* (New York: 2000).

⁶⁶ Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: 1986); Nigel Goose and Lien Luu eds., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Brighton: 2005).

⁶⁷ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant*, 42, 306.

continent. In her analysis of a 1635 port register, Alison Games has shown that, although almost 7,000 people sailed from the English capital for foreign destinations that year, this “did not necessarily entail colonial aspirations”. Around 2,500 of these men, women and children embarked for European ports, more than half of them English people venturing “on their own affayres” as soldiers, mariners, merchants, religious nonconformists or ‘Grand Tourists’.⁶⁸ Equally striking in Games’s analysis, furthermore, is the pan-archipelagic background of those on the list: Griffith Hughes, Evan Ap-Evan, Teague Quillan and Dermond O’Bryan had presumably been only short-term residents of London before embarking for the continent, leading Games to suggest, more ambitiously, that their movement into the city and beyond may have eroded local and regional cultures within the isles to some extent, and contributed to the creation of an early form of British identity.⁶⁹

Therefore, when viewed from the perspective of ‘the New British and Irish Histories’, the study of British and Irish emigrants on the continent and in Scandinavia could undoubtedly tell us something not only about a particular ethnic minority in a particular country, that is, not just about an aspect of European history in the widest sense, but about the history of the archipelago.⁷⁰ Might it be that, as research progresses, the scholar of British and Irish emigrant and expatriate life in early modern Europe, will be confronted with images as complex and refracted as those that have been presented to date of the ‘British Atlantic World’? Many of the contributions to this volume certainly acknowledge both reciprocity and ‘cultural conflict’ in relations between the peoples of the archipelago when abroad, whether based on social and economic networks, or diplomatic, military, intellectual and confessional circles. Language is undoubtedly key here. Peter Burke has sought to identify an “ethnography of speaking” in early modern Europe, while Davidson’s example of Robert Corbington

⁶⁸ Games, *Migration*, 20, 22, 36.

⁶⁹ Games, *Migration*, 21, 31–50.

⁷⁰ The British state has been posited as having unique historical ties with Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark and Poland-Lithuania. John Wraight, *The Swiss and the British* (Salisbury: 1987); N. Andrén et al., *Sweden-Britain: A Thousand Years of Friendship* (Stockholm: 1997); Jørgen Sevaldsen ed., *Britain and Denmark: Political, Economic and Cultural Relations in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Copenhagen: 2003). Also of relevance here are Patrick Salmon and Tony Barrow eds., *Britain and the Baltic: Studies in Commercial, Political and Cultural Relations, 1500–2000* (Sunderland: 2003); Richard Unger and Jakub Basista eds., *Britain and Poland-Lithuania* (Leiden: 2008).

SJ here, reminds us of how scholars continue to struggle to give a precise answer regarding this issue in the case of British and Irish emigrants. For soldiers, the role of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* for the Scots in Bremen and Verden as a means of promoting common use of the German language is outlined in Kathrin Zickermann's chapter below. Although apparently lacking among some English exiled nuns, Latin presumably predominated in conversations between Irish and other Franciscans in France and the Spanish dependencies besides between Scottish and other Calvinists at French Huguenot institutions, international environments of great complexity as the chapters here by Thomas O'Connor and Siobhan Talbott illuminate. Without doubt, the defence of the Irish Gaelic and Scots languages, however, to give just two examples, was treated with the utmost seriousness in the emigrant setting too. Irish continued to be widely spoken not only at home but, it seems, amongst those living elsewhere in Europe.⁷¹ One observer of newly arrived Irish soldiers at Deventer in the 1580s commented that they "spoke an unintelligible language and could not have any intercourse with the inhabitants".⁷² Besides, the use of the mother tongue was enjoined on students in the Irish continental seminaries, with the Franciscans, as O'Connor shows here masterfully, becoming renowned in particular for collecting, copying and printing texts in the vernacular.⁷³ As for the Scots, regiments such as "Mackay's" which disembarked for Europe from Easter Ross in the late 1620s, clearly had a Highland, Gaelic-speaking component. Regarding the Scots language, although some considered the use of the Lowland vernacular to be almost ubiquitous, and a problem, Steve Murdoch's recording of the case of a "Mr Sinclair" who was living on the Danish island of Laaland in 1627, but described as "begotten of Scots ancestors" and as one who spoke "the Scottish tongue" is just one from many that could be drawn on to provide more positive evidence here.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: 2001) 146.

⁷² Gráinne Henry, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders 1586–1621* (Dublin: 1992) 85; Murdoch, *Network North*, 368–73.

⁷³ Proinsias Mac Cana, *Collège des Irlandais, Paris and Irish Studies* (Dublin: 2001) 20.

⁷⁴ Steve Murdoch, "Children of the Diaspora: The 'Homecoming' of the Second-Generation Scot in the Seventeenth Century" in Marjory Harper ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000* (Manchester: 2005) 58.

Nevertheless, Pocock has made comparatively little published reference to the possible role of linguistic factors in cementing his posited multicultural identity in the British Imperial context. The issue needs to be addressed in detail. Confronted with an age in which English was not widely spoken outside of England and sections of the British Atlantic, it would seem imperative for future scholars to explore the extent to which emigrants from the archipelago were able to converse in a mutually intelligible, and otherwise almost completely confidential tongue (that is, whether they spoke a form of English as a first or second language when together in a European setting). Evidently, the deployment of a commonly if not universally known and understood language would have provided them with a means of communication utterly inaccessible to the vast majority of their hosts.⁷⁵ More recent expatriate groups, for instance, teachers of English, might provide anecdotal suggestions of the tendency of anglophones to congregate more often when in a wider non-English speaking environment. That situation may, however, be comparable with that experienced by the English, besides some of the Scots and Irish emigrants referred to here. Before beginning a journey westwards that would take them eventually much further from home, the exiled English puritans in the Netherlands worried that they might “lose our language” and thus “our name of English”.⁷⁶ The extent to which the definition of English as “our language” might apply to Scottish, Irish and Welsh emigrants by that time is a much more complicated one for which, Davidson’s example of the polyglot figure of Corbington shows, there remain many more questions than answers. Aspects of this communication amongst the body of displaced British and Irish Catholics are alluded to in the fascinating contribution of Tom McNally here, and might be combined with further evidence as provided in the travel diary of James Fraser (1634–1709), minister of the northern Scottish parish of Wardlaw in the 1650s, to suggest the use at times of something approaching a common tongue.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Peter Burke, ‘*Heu Domine, adsunt Turcae*: A Sketch for a Social History of Post-Medieval Latin’ in Peter Burke and Roy Porter eds., *Language, Self and Society: A Social History of Language* (Cambridge: 1991) 23–51; Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2004).

⁷⁶ Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 7.

⁷⁷ MS 2538, Aberdeen University Library, James Fraser, “Triennial Travels; Account of Tour in England, France, Holland, Germany, Italy, 1657–60”, 3 vols., I, f. 50.

Beyond language, a further aim of this project was to assess in specific detail the more problematic aspects of the lives of emigrants to Europe from the archipelago. Several important studies of emigrant locations at the sub-national and micro-level had already proved suggestive in these respects, these being supported by the rich resources that are sometimes available in regional, urban or even parish archives. Regarding the Scots, the earlier work of Catterall on Rotterdam, Pedersen on Bergen, Zickermann on Hamburg, Grosjean and Murdoch on Gothenburg spring to mind.⁷⁸ As regards Ireland, O'Scea and Faninn on the ports of Galicia and Cádiz respectively, Amaia Bilbao Acedos on Bilbao, Gráinne Henry on the southern Low Countries, besides Mary Ann Lyons on Brittany, provided contributors to this volume with similarly pioneering examples of this type.⁷⁹ Many of the chapters here are equally ambitious in this sense. Jan and Leo Lucassen have warned scholars against being led astray by early modern sources which contrast "subsistence" migrants of a poor, "vagrant" background, with an equally stereotypical body of travellers pursuing "betterment" in a diligent, socially acceptable manner.⁸⁰ But, whether an accurate reflection of mobility and capital or not, the distinction was widely made by town or provincial authorities, and had severe implications for the more impoverished British and Irish emigrants in early modern Europe. Especially upon arrival, they were sometimes grouped together with other "vagabonds" and "vagrants", even if the extent to which any xenophobia could be traced over a long-term period or along specifically ethnic or national lines remains questionable. For instance, it is not immediately apparent if the late medieval French proverb which stated that "Rats, lice and Scotsmen:

⁷⁸ Catterall, *Community without Borders*; Nina Østby Pedersen, "Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Grosjean and Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 135–167; Kathrin Zickermann, "'Briteannia ist Mein Patria': Scotsmen and the 'British' Community in Hamburg" in Grosjean and Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 225–248.

⁷⁹ Ciaran O'Scea, "The Devotional World of the Irish Catholic Exile in Early-Modern Galicia, 1598–1666" in O'Connor ed., *Irish in Europe*, 27–48; Samuel Fannin, "The Irish Community in Eighteenth-Century Cadiz" in O'Connor and Lyons eds., *Irish Migrants*, 135–14; Amaia Bilbao Acedos, *The Irish Community in the Basque Country, c. 1700–1800*, (Dublin: 2002). See also Barry Reynolds, "Irish Traders in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Bilbao" (MA thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, Maynooth: 2003); Henry, *The Irish Military Community*; Mary Ann Lyons, "The Emergence of an Irish Community in Saint Malo, 1550–1710" in O'Connor ed., *The Irish in Europe*, 107–126.

⁸⁰ Lucassen and Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History", 19.

you find them the whole world over”, (*“Que d’Escossois, de rats, de poux, Ceux qui voyagent jus qu’ au bout Du monde, en rencontrent partout”*) was a comment directed at Scottish emigrants in general or, more simply, a remark aimed at pedlars or trampers selling tin, linen kerchiefs, iron goods, scissors, knives and other merchandise, that is, petty traders of the type that became associated with the name ‘Scot’ in various parts of the continent and Scandinavia.⁸¹ Nina Østby Pedersen has provided evidence from Norway of the use of that term at times as a pejorative description based on nationality, in the form of a case from 1587 when a German priest proclaimed against a group from the Northern Isles who were then residing in Bergen.⁸² Other Scots of higher social standing could be the focus of opposition from non-native populations in Bergen too. Pedersen covered the situation of the wife of one burgess, whose house was broken into by Hanseatic merchants in 1523, this comprising one part of a series of tactics involving also physical assaults, directed at the richer Scots there because of a perception both that they had been offered conditions to trade that were too favourable, and that they indulged in activities inappropriate for guild members.⁸³ Usually, the situation for those of higher social status was somewhat easier: more established Scottish emigrants sometimes succeeded in their attempts to enforce a distinction between themselves and ‘subsistence’ migrants. Soldiers were another group who could be the focus of antipathy, even if it is difficult to know once more if the stereotype of *“der Schotte”* as petty trader contributed to this. Again in Norway, in 1612, a group of over 300 Scots were cut down on the march by a band of local peasants at Gudbrandsdalen, while in northern Germany during the ‘Thirty Years’ War, a negative image, albeit with less-horrific consequences, was built around the taste for alcohol of locally-based soldiers then serving in the occupying Swedish army.⁸⁴

⁸¹ David Armitage, “The Scottish Diaspora” in Jenny Wormald ed., *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: 2005) 272.

⁸² Pedersen, “Scottish Immigration”, 147.

⁸³ Pedersen, “Scottish Immigration”, 137–8.

⁸⁴ Local landowners complained that the Scots in question ripped down hedges around their land for firewood, while in another town where several hundred of them were stationed, the army command allowed only ten to drink in the town’s taverns at any one time. A taste for drink has also been posited as the explanation for one Scottish officer there, Patrick Ruthven, becoming known as “Father Red Wine”. See Hartmut Ruffer and Kathrin Zickermann, “German Reactions to the Scots in the Holy Roman Empire during the ‘Thirty Years’ War”, in Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the ‘Thirty Years’ War*, 280, 287–9.

Thus, in large sections of the German- and Slavic-speaking world, the figure of “*der Schotte*” should be seen, in many cases, as being synonymous with a relatively marginal, impoverished seller of small wares, rather than being necessarily a description of a person’s ethnic or national background, despite the case that, as rich merchants and soldiers, those of Scottish birth were sometimes viewed unfavourably.

Balancing the convincing efforts of early modern Irish Roman Catholic scholars to remind their readers of a fruitful history of connections with the Spanish dependencies and France, as O’Ciosain and O’Scea show here, emigrants from that country were not universally welcomed either, especially the poorest amongst them. However, unlike with respect to the Scots, there is no evidence of the term ‘Irish’ becoming associated with a social group in any continental society, rather than being simply a description of ethnic or national background. Gráinne Henry has analysed military and hospital records, besides wills, in order to assess the experiences of Irish people of various social classes in the Spanish-controlled southern Netherlands from the 1580s down to 1621. She has shown that newly-arrived Irish “swordsmen” and “masterless men” were feared, the authorities making attempts to prevent them from gaining entry into walled towns.⁸⁵ Therein presumably lies the explanation for the statement of the duke of Parma, commander of the multinational Army of Flanders, in 1586, that he wanted the “wild Irish” brought before him so that they might be “killed like dogs”, as well as to Hugo Grotius’s reference to the Irish soldiers in garrison at Deventer that same year as being “strangers both to humanity and civility”. Paralleling the fate of the Scottish soldiers at Gudbrandsdalen, on at least one occasion, in 1589, local peasants massacred a group amongst them.⁸⁶ Further examples of anti-Irish persecution can be found in the Basque country. Much later in the seventeenth- and during the eighteenth-century, a community of Irish craftsmen and tanners, known in the Bilbao region as “*chiguiris*”, were threatened with robbery and even murder, being compared, unfavourably, to the gypsy and Jewish populations and, more mundanely, blamed for having decimated the local woodlands for their trade.⁸⁷ Although O’Ciosain’s contribution is important in showing

⁸⁵ Henry, *Irish Military Community*, 46–8.

⁸⁶ Henry, *Irish Military Community*, 91.

⁸⁷ Acedos, *The Irish Community*, 64.

the sporadic nature of anti-Irish xenophobic feeling in France, fear was widespread, of course, that poor traders from overseas could bring plague as well as social disorder. In Brittany, concerted efforts began in 1598, when the *parlement* issued an edict directed against all “Egyptians”, “*bohemians*”, “vagrants”, “vagabonds”, “beggars” and “base people”. Within seven years, they had ordered the Irish to leave Morlaix, while conditions in places such as Angers, Nantes, Rouen, Bordeaux and even Paris and Lyon, may have been equally inhospitable.⁸⁸ In other cases, especially in Spain, it was not just the most impoverished economic migrants, the pedlars, trampers and part-time soldiers amongst this “new race and generation of gypsies”, who could be the focus of persecution.⁸⁹ One writer has claimed that, at the royal court in Madrid, the Irish came to constitute, by the end of the sixteenth century, a “troublesome, fissiparous pressure group”.⁹⁰

With gender having also been deeply submerged sometimes in the historiography, further micro-studies would continue to be helpful also in this respect. Something has been revealed of the environment inhabited by English women in western parts of the continent, a theme that is the subject of ongoing research by Professor Ann Hughes of the University of Keele. Regarding the involvement of Scottish tradeswomen, information is available in some recent secondary literature too, especially important here being the aforementioned accounts relating to seventeenth century Rotterdam and Gothenburg. As Catterall has shown both elsewhere and here for the first location, Scottish women could have been found acting as boardinghouse keepers (*slaapvrouwen*), besides as unofficial bankers and money lenders, social workers, servants, fruitsellers and prostitutes.⁹¹ Those who became citizens in Gothenburg seem to have achieved prominence in an equally wide sphere of enterprises.⁹² For Stockholm, Murdoch provides us with

⁸⁸ As to how the deportation from the Breton ports might be achieved, the authorities were no less threatening if perhaps uncommitted. See Mary Ann Lyons, *Franco-Irish Relations, 1500–1610: Politics, Migration and Trade* (Woodbridge: 2003) 177–80; Éamon Ó Ciosáin, “Voloumous Deamboulare—the Wandering Irish in French literature 1600–1789”, in A. Coulson ed., *Exiles and Migrants, Crossing Thresholds in European Culture and Society*, (Sussex: 1997) 32–42.

⁸⁹ Morales, “Irish Émigré Group Strategies”, 242, 270.

⁹⁰ Morales, “Irish Émigré Group Strategies”, 242, 270; Enrique Garcia Hernán, “Irish Clerics in Madrid, 1598–1665” in O’Connor ed., *Irish in Europe*, 267–93.

⁹¹ Catterall, *Community*, 133–4.

⁹² Grosjean and Murdoch, “The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg”, in Grosjean and Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 209.

new, original detail as regards merchantwomen such as Sophia Forbes and Emerentia Lyall here. Furthermore, Barry Robertson's chapter is informative regarding the family network leading to the arrival of Catherine Gordon in mid-seventeenth century Poland. A very different female presence on the southern shores of the Baltic is witnessed in the comments of those expatriate merchants in Danzig who complained, in 1592, that "lazy women and loose servants" were taking over their trade or, in 1624, that "exorbitant numbers of young boys and maids, unable for any service" had recently disembarked.⁹³ In Irish historiography meanwhile, Patrick O'Sullivan has asserted that, although knowledge of the 'wild ganders' is now considerable, cognizance of the 'wild geese' as a whole remains less impressive.⁹⁴ There are pieces of evidence such as that recorded by John Silke in relation to a case in Youghal in 1636, where, among the fifty-six gathered at the 'Blewe Anker' tavern who expressed a willingness to accept indentured servitude in Barbados, there were twenty women who were "reddear to go then men".⁹⁵ O'Scea's insights into the mental world of both 'Old Irish' and 'Old English' settlers in Galician Spain are also illuminating in this regard, especially his analysis of wills left in the archives of La Coruña and Santiago de Compostela.⁹⁶ The Spanish Netherlands were similarly important for exiled Irish women, and, as Bowden's chapter here demonstrates, also for lesser numbers of Scottish and English female migrants. Discussion of their experience in earlier historiography often comprised brief speculation as to their presence as prostitutes within the ranks of the multinational Spanish 'Army of Flanders', the commanders of which employed four to eight women for every two hundred men towards this end. Information survives regarding Roman Catholic women of a higher social standing too: in 1610, Ellen "Countess of Clancarty" applied for a licence to transport beer to the southern Low Countries from England. Additionally, and even more than Galicia, the region seems to have been a common place of refuge for Irish nuns, especially during the 1650s when the Poor Clares, Dominicans, and Tertiary Sisters of St. Francis (some of

⁹³ Christine Peters, *Women in Early Modern Britain, 1450–1640* (Basingstoke: 2004) 32; T.A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany* (London: 1902) 33.

⁹⁴ Patrick O'Sullivan ed., *Irish Women and Irish Migration. The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity* (London: 1995) 11.

⁹⁵ J. Silke, "The Irish Abroad, 1534–1691" in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan, et al. eds., *A New History of Ireland*, 9 vols., (Oxford: 1986), III, 601.

⁹⁶ O'Scea, "The Devotional World", 31, 39–42, 45–6.

whom had male relatives serving in the army there already) fled their homeland in order to enter convents comprised of Belgian and expatriate British sisters.⁹⁷ Another case is that of Mary Stuart O'Donnell, who disguised herself as a man before leaving home so as not to have to marry a Protestant. She thereafter became one of a handful of Irishwomen recorded by Henry as having made their way to Brussels in order to seek a pension at the court of the governor, Philip III's sister, Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633).⁹⁸

A final area in which it was hoped this volume would prove to be a milestone was in taking a view of early modern Europe much wider, geographically, than that adopted in some previous accounts in the field. Robertson suggests here the need for scholars of Scottish emigrants to look more closely at neglected parts of the Mediterranean. Political parallels are perhaps most apparent as regards central and eastern Europe, however. The Polish-Lithuanian regal union of 1386, and the subsequent Union of Lublin of 1569 that created a single parliament (*Sejm*) for the Commonwealth, have offered scope for comparison, respectively, with the regal union, and the eventual, incorporating political union in 1707 between England and Scotland.⁹⁹ Regarding Bohemia, Jonathan Scott has described the situation in 1618 as “not entirely unlike that twenty years later in Scotland”, a conflict within “a religiously mixed and unstable multiple monarchy not entirely unlike that of Charles I.”¹⁰⁰ However, more sustained research on specific aspects of emigration to places east of the Rhine is shown in the contributions here to be hugely enriching, the groundbreaking chapters provided by O'Connor, McNally, Kowalski and Vidmar reaching a new level of analysis for these regions.

⁹⁷ Jerrold Casway, “Irish Women Overseas, 1500–1800” in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd eds., *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh: 1991) 117–18.

⁹⁸ The example of Lady Isabella Hay, daughter of the north east Scottish Roman Catholic, Francis Hay, ninth Earl of Errol (*bap.* 1564, *d.* 1631), can shed additional light on some more general factors relating to the experiences of Roman Catholic noblewomen from the archipelago at that court and in the region more widely. See Gilbert Blackhal, *A Brief Narration of the Services Done to Three Noble Ladies, 1631–1649* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen: 1864) 19; A.F.B. Roberts, “The Role of Women in Scottish Catholic Survival” in *Scottish Historical Review*, 70/190, (1991) 129–150.

⁹⁹ John Robertson, “Empire and Union: Two Concepts of the Early Modern European Political Order”, in John Robertson, ed., *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge: 1995) 4.

¹⁰⁰ Jonathan Scott, “England's Troubles 1603–1702”, in R. Malcolm Smuts ed., *The Stuart Court and Europe* (Cambridge: 1996) 28.

Conclusion

These constitute the initial problems and subsequent aims of this book, and provide the background to the decision to split the text into four sections. The first of these deals with long-term issues of immigration and civilian relations with the host community, in the form of five separate case studies, three Scottish and two Irish. The 'multiple worlds' shown to have been occupied by Scots in Rotterdam, the existence of '*främmande skottar*' (foreign Scots) in Stockholm, besides of 'temporary' (*transeúnte*) and 'permanent' (*avecindado*) Irish residents in Spain, for example, emphasise the complexities that were sometimes at work. Indeed, not all of the British and Irish abroad formed established ethnic communities. The next two sections consider cases where it is more difficult to distinguish between 'sojourner' and emigrant, covering those political, military, scholarly and intellectual migrants whose stay abroad was generally more fleeting, and whose relations with the host society remained in flux. Thus, the Gordons made little of their continental connections, there was only a brief 'Scottish moment' in Bremen and Verden, while unpredictable religious situations in other host countries demanded accommodation and flexibility. The last section returns to consider the perspectives of a variety of exiles, all of them Roman Catholics, on home, cases where there may have been 'no end to exile' for many of the English recusant nuns, but where, for most, return migration remained not only a desirable but also a realistic goal with potentially significant domestic implications.

In general, the chapters in the book rely on an array of hitherto-obscure archival sources, besides often applying concepts from anthropology, sociology or other disciplines in order to elucidate networks of traders, soldiers, besides lay and religious scholars. With such a broad range of topics having been explored and, in many cases, previous research revised, it only remains for me to thank all the contributors for their efforts. A measure of the worth or otherwise of the volume will be both whether it is eventually seen as having been one of the sparks that helped bring about the illumination of an emigrant setting as vivid and complex as that which has been presented of 'British North America', as well as the degree to which it encouraged scholars of the 'New British and Irish Histories' to take into greater account pre-1688 traditions of movement abroad. It has been a great pleasure to cooperate with everyone involved in the attempt to achieve these objectives.

PART ONE

IMMIGRANTS AND CIVILIAN LIFE

COMMUNITY, COMMODITY AND COMMERCE: THE STOCKHOLM-SCOTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Steve Murdoch*

It can be extremely difficult to understand and define a relationship between an immigrant ethnic group and the society which hosts it. The historian can be hindered by a variety of factors, whether that is a dearth of sources or the overwhelming draw of a particular aspect of the group under scrutiny. The present chapter considers the civilian Scots located in the Swedish capital city, Stockholm, and their influence on commerce. Previously, the purely military aspects of Scottish-Swedish relations have tended to dominate studies. Recently though, a more sophisticated set of relationships has been described which highlights the penetration of Scots into the very fabric of Swedish societies at various levels, particularly the military elite, but also the nobility.¹ Scholars have also invariably been attracted to the settlers in Gothenburg, whether through a survey of the Scots involved in the early foundation of the town²—or during the massive commercial development of the city after the founding of the Swedish East India Company by

* I would like to thank Ardis Dreisbach Grosjean and Dr Alexia Grosjean for their help with the often difficult Swedish documents used in this article. Dr Piia Einonen and Dr Leos Müller also kindly read the text and provided both interesting commentary and valuable sources for which I am extremely grateful.

¹ A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003).

² J.N.M. Maclean, 'Montrose's preparations for the invasion of Scotland, and Royalist missions to Sweden, 1649–1651', in R. Hatton and M. Anderson, eds., *Studies in Diplomatic History* (London: 1970). J.N.M. Maclean, *The Macleans of Sweden* (Edinburgh: 1971); G. Behre, 'Scots in "Little London": Scots settlers and cultural development in Gothenburg in the eighteenth century', in *Northern Scotland*, VII, no. 2, (1986), 133–150; E. Grage, 'Scottish merchants in Gothenburg, 1621–1850' in T.C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh: 1986), 112–115; G. Behre, 'Gothenburg in Stuart War Strategy 1649–1760' in G.G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and Scandinavia 800–1800* (Edinburgh: 1990); G. Behre, 'Från Högländerna till Älvdalen: Göteborg och Skottland 1621–1814', in *Personhistorisk tidskrift* (1993); A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg' in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 191–223.

Colin Campbell and others in the 1730s.³ In addition to Gothenburg, some Swedish territories and provinces have been investigated for the presence of Scottish merchants including Sigtuna, the former capital of Sweden.⁴ Riga, Narva, Elbing and other dominions under Swedish control have also been studied and produced interesting data relating to Scottish activity.⁵ Some of this research, like that pertaining to Pomerania, remains inaccessible to non-German speakers, despite research results having been in print since 1965.⁶ Kathrin Zickermann has recently uncovered a wealth of information regarding the activities of Scots in the Swedish provinces of Bremen and Verden which she discusses in this volume. Taken together, the important research covering Swedish provincial cities and trophy provinces sheds important light on the migration, integration and activity of hundreds of Scottish administrators, merchants and entrepreneurs within Sweden and her dominions. Yet despite that, one noteworthy place within the ever-expanding early modern Swedish empire hitherto lacking a dedicated survey of a Scottish presence is the metropolis of Stockholm. This

³ C. Campbell, *A Passage to China: Colin Campbell's diary of the first Swedish East India Company expedition to Canton, 1732–33*, edited by P. Hallberg and C. Koninckx (Gothenburg: 1996); L. Müller, 'The Swedish East India Trade and International Markets: Re-exports of teas, 1731–1813' in *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. 51, no. 3 (2003); See also J.R. Ashton, *Lives and Livelihood in Little London (Sävedalen: 2003)*.

⁴ An exhibition celebrating the Sigtuna Scots was held in the town museum in 2007 and was based on the extensive research of Ola Undin and Stefan Palm. I thank them both for sharing their findings with me in advance of the exhibition.

⁵ For example, Andrew Forsyth of Dundee resided in Riga in the 1660s at the same time as Simon Fraser of Fraserburgh. See their applications for birth-briefs in *RPCS*, 3rd series, 1661–1664, p. 354 and 1665–1669, p. 16; *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, vol. 11, 1660–1668, 199–200. Entry 401, 24 March 1663. Robert Udnie migrated from Aberdeenshire to Narva where he established himself as a burgess. He later moved to Viborg around 1630 and became a merchant there. See Uppsala University Library, Palmskiöldiska samlingen, vol. 247; G. Elgenstierna, *Den Introducerade Svenska Adelsns Ättartavlor, med tillägg och rättelser* (9 vols., Stockholm: 1925–36), [hereafter *SAÄ*], vol. 8, 411; Marryat, *One Year in Sweden, including a visit to the isle of Gotland*, 499–500; George Wright (f. 1650–1694) fled Scotland during the Cromwellian period to establish himself in Narva as a shoemaker, then merchant, before finally being ennobled. *SAÄ*, vol. 9, 69. Living at the same time as Wright in Narva were the brothers Jacob and Reinhold Porteous, sons of the Scottish merchant James Porteous. See *SRA, Livonica II: I*, vol. 210. Jacob Porteous to Karl XI, various letters, 1681–1683. For the families of Ramsay, Williamson, Auchinvole, Niesebeth see *Elbing*, 14–30.

⁶ Von Ilse von Wechmar and R. Biederstedt, 'Die Schottische Einwanderung in Vorpommern im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert' in *Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch*, vol. 5 (1965), 7–28.

chapter will consider the civilian activities of the Scots in Stockholm, to evaluate their significance, in order to place them into a comparative context with their sister communities elsewhere.

It is probably worth mentioning that many locations which hosted foreign communities in early modern times had some form of institutional structure that both allured them to the location in the first place, or in some way supported or protected them once the migrant or sojourner arrived there. For Scots, these undoubtedly included the Scottish Kirk in Rotterdam in the United Provinces;⁷ the 'Scottish Brotherhoods' in Poland-Lithuania;⁸ the Scottish Colleges in France, Italy, Spain and parts of Germany;⁹ the Scottish Corporation in London¹⁰ or even the numerous Masonic Lodges which spread throughout Europe from the end of the seventeenth century onwards.¹¹ The evolution of a community was not dependent on such institutional support, but there is no doubt that where such structures existed, scholarship has tended to follow. Thus researchers into 'Scottish-Sweden' have been drawn to the institutional protection afforded the Scots in Gothenburg: in 1621, Gustav II Adolf decreed that the new town was to be administered by twelve town councillors, these including four Swedish, three German, three Dutch and two Scottish men.¹² There was certainly no such equivalent guaranteed position for Scots in Stockholm, or for that matter, in any other Swedish city. This unique arrangement has therefore been pointed to as one of the main draws for Scottish migrants—the argument being that with Scots on the council, coupled with the various tax breaks all new merchants in the city enjoyed, Gothenburg was obviously the city of choice for Scots wishing to trade from or

⁷ R.A. Houston, 'The Scots Kirk, Rotterdam, 1643–1795: a Dutch or Scottish church?' in Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss, eds., *The North Sea and Culture, 1550–1800* (Hilversum: 1996); D. Catterall, 'The Rituals of Reformed Discipline: Managing Honor and Conflict in the Scottish Church of Rotterdam, 1643–1665' in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, vol. 94 (2003).

⁸ W. Kowalski, 'The Placement of the Urbanised Scot in the Polish Crown During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 80–81.

⁹ W. Forbes Leith et al., eds., *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon* (2 vols., Aberdeen: 1906).

¹⁰ J. Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness: The History of the Royal Scottish Corporation, A London Charity, 1603–2003* (East Linton: 2003).

¹¹ S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006), 329–337.

¹² H. Almquist, *Göteborgs historia. Grundläggningen och de första hundra åren. Förra delen. Från grundläggningen till enväldet* (Göteborg: 1929), 81.

settle in Sweden. However, the Stockholm-Scottish community was of older vintage and even more considerable in size than that well-researched community based in Gothenburg.

The First Stockholm-Scots

Foreigners who settled in Stockholm found themselves very much a part of a vibrant and largely non-Swedish population. For example, the 'German' community alone, mostly drawn from Lübeck, Rostock and Danzig, had arrived in such numbers that legislation dating back to the middle ages had been passed to ensure they made up no more than 50% of the population of the city.¹³ Nonetheless, the sixteenth century saw the arrival of competition from other nations, particularly the Dutch, but also the Scots. Scottish merchants operating from bases in Elbing and Danzig have been singled out by Swedish scholars for their important role in facilitating Sweden's mercantile growth, but they did not do so initially from a position of strength.¹⁴ In 1548 only one Scottish resident was recorded in the Stockholm *vågböcker* (weight-books), one of the few available resources which can be consulted to establish the presence of foreigners in sixteenth-century Sweden.¹⁵ According to several sources, however, the Scots had become the second largest overseas community in the city less than twenty years later, with about thirty identifiable Scots in Stockholm by 1569.¹⁶ E.F. Heckscher claimed that in the 1570s they included two of the most important inhabitants of the city (though he did not identify them). These two men, undoubtedly including Blasius Dundee, were responsible for 10% of the city's trade, with their countrymen adding another 5.6%.¹⁷ In the 1580s, when systematic records start to be kept, some twenty Dutch and twelve Scottish families were recorded in Stockholm, either showing a drop in the number of Scots present, a

¹³ E.F. Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa* (Stockholm: 1935), 49; L. Ericson, *Stockholms historia under 750 år* (Stockholm: 2001), 94.

¹⁴ B. Steckzén, *Svenskt och Brittiskt: Sex essayer* (Stockholm: 1959), 19; B. Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare på 1560-talet* (Stockholm: 1992), 231.

¹⁵ Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*, 49.

¹⁶ Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*, 49; Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare*, 231. Heckscher puts the number at twenty three, but the more recent scholarship of Lager-Kromnow states specifically that the customs records of Stockholm in 1569 name thirty people who can for certain be identified as Scots.

¹⁷ Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*, 49.

confusion of Scots with other nationalities, or simply that some avoided formal registration of any kind.¹⁸ Certainly Heckscher believed that the numbers were similar in 1590, albeit that the Scottish share of trade had dropped slightly.¹⁹

The Stockholm-Scots were a mix of military, mercantile and artisan families and strove to maintain a distinctive economic and linguistic community in the same way as the Dutch.²⁰ This replicates very well what is known of Scottish communities elsewhere in Europe.²¹ Members of this small society were entrusted with important civic responsibilities early on. For example, in 1593, Blasius Dundee was one of the alderman-burgesses who represented Stockholm at the burial of Johan III. He subsequently attended the coronation of Sigismund III Vasa (1592–1599), where he handed over the keys of the town to the new king on behalf of civic Stockholm.²² Members of some key Scottish families joined Dundee in Stockholm, as exemplified by Sir Andrew Keith who entered Swedish service in or before 1568²³ and James Neave (Jacob Näf), ex-page to Johan III.²⁴ However, Keith and Neave were avid supporters of the legitimate (but Catholic) king of Sweden, Sigismund Vasa, who arrived in the country from Poland to claim his throne in 1593. Keith, himself Catholic, thereafter served as one of Sigismund's court councillors. With growing anti-Catholic sentiment in Sweden, Duke Karl of Södermanland ousted his nephew to claim the Swedish throne during the Swedish Civil War (1598) and eventually became Karl IX.²⁵ As a Sigismund supporter, Neave's property

¹⁸ Ericson, *Stockholms historia*, 95–96.

¹⁹ Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*, 50.

²⁰ Ericson, *Stockholms historia*, 96.

²¹ D. Horsbroch, 'Nostra Vulgari Lingua: Scots as a European Language, 1500–1700', in *Scottish Language*, no. 18 (1999). See also the various contributions to Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, passim.

²² Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 21–25, 215; J. Berg and B. Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm: 1962), 25; F.U.W. 'Blasius Dundie' in *Person Historisk Tidskrift*, vol. 3, (1901), 41–52; *Borgarståndets Riksdagsprotokoll före frihetstiden* (Uppsala: 1933), 337.

²³ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 18.

²⁴ B. Schlegel and C.A. Klingenspor, *Den med sköldebref förlånade men ej å Riddarhuset introducerad Svenska Adels Ättar-taflor* (Stockholm: 1875), 201; Berg and Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden*, 18; Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 67; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 19.

²⁵ O. Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia* (2 vols., Leiden: 1922), vol. 1, xxix–xxx, and 171–172; R. Frost, *The Northern Wars, 1558–1721* (Harlow: 2000), 45–46; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 21.

was confiscated by Karl and, while subsequently proclaiming the banishment of 'Duke Karl' in 1598, he was murdered.²⁶ Keith managed to escape to Poland in the retinue of Sigismund. Despite the blow of losing such prominent members of the Scottish community, Blasius Dundee remained with a number of other Scottish merchants. Mostly they have left scant information, but there are repositories from where a picture of the community can be developed, mostly in the records of the various Stockholm churches and courts.

Church and Court: Records of the Stockholm Scots

Officially, Sweden did not tolerate the presence of Roman Catholics in the kingdom once the Swedish Civil War had ended in 1598. Thereafter, the state religion was reaffirmed as Lutheran, albeit there had been in recent times a certain degree of *de facto* toleration for migrants and diplomats. Thus in the 1570s the Scottish community had their own clergyman, Robert Crichton, who was most probably a Presbyterian.²⁷ However, most Scots in Stockholm apparently converted to Lutheranism. Indeed, the devout Presbyterian merchant Patrick Thomson sought self-imposed exile from his countrymen in Stockholm declaring that 'All the Scots here are Lutherans or Atheists, the English are worse if worse can be [...] so I come heir alone.'²⁸ It appears he was correct in his analysis of his countrymen in the Swedish capital. When the records of the various Stockholm churches are examined it is clear that many Scots found the transition to Lutheranism painless, and some even became clergymen in the city.²⁹ For example, in June 1714, the Swedish *Riksråd* (State Council) wrote to Karl XII recommending John Guthrie 'the Scot' as a priest for Stockholm's

²⁶ Berg and Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden*, 18.

²⁷ For Robert Crichton in Stockholm see B. Lager, *Stockholms befolkning på Johan III:s tid* (Stockholm: 1962), 132; Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare*, 231; for religious communities of Scots in Scandinavia, including Sweden see Murdoch, *Network North*, 93–107.

²⁸ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/608. Patrick Thomson to Andrew Russell, Stockholm, 22 April 1686.

²⁹ Most of the main Scottish families can be found in the birth, marriage and death registers including Barclay, Buchan, Chalmers, Forbes, Hamilton, Hunter, Kinnemond, Lyall, Primrose, Porteous, Stuart and others. See, for instance, Stockholm Stadsarkiv [hereafter SSA], 'Maria församling, register over döda', 4 vols, 1634–1700; SSA, 'Klara församling, register over döda', 1680–1710.

prestigious Kungsholm parish some 34 years after his conversion from Calvinism.³⁰ However, it is in scrutinising the ordinary, even quite mundane, activities of the Lutheran Church in Stockholm that we glean most about the Scottish community there. From these we learn of activities as diverse as god-parenting and funerary details which can tell us a great deal about aspects of community building and integration. Unfortunately there is scant information regarding marriage, and indeed, for all the Scots merchants, burgesses and soldiers we find in the city, we can only state for certain that about ten of them were married to Scottish women. We know that about twice that number married non-Scots, but very little about the remainder, spouses very often simply being recorded by their first names, if mentioned at all. However, the other forms of information from the church records do tell us more.

The names recorded in various baptismal registers make it apparent that god-parenting remained a way of confirming the social bonds between members of the Scottish community.³¹ In August 1616, the Dutch burgess Jöran Gertt's child had no less than four Scottish god-parents (and one non-Scot). Among them were the burgess Blasius Dundee, but also three other '*främmande skottar*' (foreign Scots), probably denoting resident Scots who had not yet taken Swedish citizenship.³² This is suggestive of the closeness of the Dutchman to the Scots, and possibly the presence of a Scottish bride. The following year, a Scottish goldsmith called simply 'Wellam' ensured that his child had four god-parents, three of whom were 'Scottish Captains' indicating that a strong link could exist between the civilian and military Scots in the city.³³ In more ordinary circumstances, the god-parents may simply have taken on responsibility for a bastard child, as happened when a servant girl in James Maclean's house had her baby baptised in Stockholm's St Nikolai church on 20 March 1621. The god-parents included Maria Gubbart (wife of James Maclean) and the unnamed wife of James Hay.³⁴ This last is typical of the frustration the records

³⁰ Hellström, *Stockholms Stads Herdaminne*, 588–589.

³¹ For god-parenting in a Swedish context see S. Fagerlund, 'Women and Men as Godparents in an Early Modern Swedish Town' in *The History of the Family*, vol. 5, no. 3 (2000); for a wider discussion of Scottish fictive kinship see Murdoch, *Network North*, 27–47.

³² SSA, St Nikolai kyrkas döpbok från och med 1611 till och med 1622, 30.

³³ SSA, St Nikolai kyrkas döpbok från och med 1611 till och med 1622, 34.

³⁴ SSA, St Nikolai kyrkas döpbok från och med 1611 till och med 1622, 55.

create, telling us the man's name and not the woman's despite the fact that Hay himself was not part of the ceremony.

In death we also find some interesting evidence of ties between individual Scots and family, friends and, occasionally, strangers. Alexander Buchan buried a dozen people in thirty years including his wife, four children, his father-in-law, his sister-in-law and his mother-in-law's sister.³⁵ It is clear, then, that he took on responsibility for extended family as well as blood relations. Similarly, James Maclean buried seven people in eleven years including his wife, his niece, two daughters, but interestingly also an unnamed servant, a friend (Thomas Horn) and an unnamed beggar's child.³⁶ Taking responsibility for those less fortunate was apparently quite usual among the Scots and perhaps simply part of one's Christian duty for any part of the wider European community. Nonetheless, looking at the registers it is very common to find Scots organising the burials of those of their own nation. Johan Anderson saw to it that one man, described only as "a foreign Scot", was buried in Anderson's own grave in 1668, and the following year he buried Elisabeth Russell, described only as "*en gammal skottsk hustru*" (an old Scottish housewife).³⁷ An unnamed woman described with exactly the same terminology was buried by Thomas Glend in 1635.³⁸ Similarly Alexander Pattillo buried a sailor described as a Scot called Johan Bårhårt (Beåkert) in 1687, though the Scottish version of his name remains elusive.³⁹ Perusal of the records reveal that, in lesser numbers, Scots also buried foreigners and foreigners buried Scots. William Butler, an Irishman, buried the unnamed child of an anonymous Scottish officer in September 1661 in Stockholm.⁴⁰ Similarly, Colonel Stuart was buried by the English envoy in August 1681, either as a gesture of personal friendship or as an indication of a Briton simply seeing to the needs of a fellow Briton.⁴¹ That one Scot, James Porteous, even bought his own grave from the Maclean family and was buried in it in November 1672 might simply be coincidence, but the purchase and sale of prime funerary locations from fellow nationals

³⁵ SSA, Maria församling, register over döda, vol. 1634–1655, 44 and vol. 1656–1680, 67.

³⁶ SSA, Maria församling, register over döda, vol. 1634–1655, 211.

³⁷ SSA, Maria församling, register over döda, vol. 1656–1680, 454 and 541.

³⁸ SSA, Nikolai församling döda, 1627–1680, 284.

³⁹ SSA, Maria församling, register over döda, vol. 1681–1700, 568.

⁴⁰ SSA, Nikolai församling döda, 1627–1680, 39.

⁴¹ SSA, Maria församling, register over döda, vol. 1681–1700, 675.

was certainly not a one-off occurrence.⁴² Nor was the burial of Scots in the family grave of other Scots unusual. Scrutiny of the various church registers of Stockholm show that the Lyalls, Andersons, Hamiltons, Maistertouns, Hallidays and Fifes all did it, providing an unexpected way of demonstrating social networks between families. Scots resident outwith the city were often buried in Stockholm's churches, some of them being laid to rest among the elite of the nation in Riddarholms Kyrka, resting place of many of the kings of Sweden—men such as Major-General David Drummond who died in Germany and whose body was returned to Sweden for this honour.⁴³ Others, like Alexander Haijock (*borgmästare* of Nyköping), were buried in the city's Nicolai Kyrka rather than in the city he once administered.⁴⁴

Another important set of sources of information for the Scottish community are the various court records. From these we find that there was a large number of Scottish servants working in the households of Scottish families in Stockholm. Some of these '*köpsven*' (merchant's apprentices) were clearly there to learn their trade and some went on to do well for themselves. However, many come to our attention from cases heard before Stockholm's consistory court.⁴⁵ Often we find only a first name, combined with a nationality, but also learn who their employers were; frequently the name appears of a given Stockholm girl who had fallen pregnant after a Scot had promised to marry her. Unfortunately we only have first names for the women and a patronymic (for example Ingrid Petersdotter) and no child's name, so a whole part of the diaspora community is lost to us. Other servants are of interest for more curious reasons. The Scottish merchant Richard Wood employed a young man called Karl Hanni (Charles Hannay). In October 1614, he was caught in possession of a 'magic book' which was confiscated and the young man thrown into prison for the second time.⁴⁶

The records of the various Swedish courts reveal a variety of activities from registering property sales to acts of violence or fraud. For example, John Macpherson went before the town magistrates in May

⁴² SSA, Maria församling, register over döda, vol. 1656–1680, 440. See also SSA, Klara församling, register over döda, 1680–1710, 170.

⁴³ S. Curman and J. Roosval, eds., *Riddarholmskyrkan: Sveriges Kyrkor Stockholms Kyrkor, Band II* (Stockholm: 1937), 694.

⁴⁴ SSA, Nikolai församling döda, 1627–1680, 131.

⁴⁵ SSA, Stockholmstads Konsistorii Protokoll, 1595–1632 and 1636–1653.

⁴⁶ SSA, Stockholmstads Konsistorii Protokoll, 1595–1632, vol. 3, 79.

1569 to present the Latin bill of sale of his house in Leith to Walter Richardson. Macpherson requested the Stockholm magistrates' seal and confirmation of the sale.⁴⁷ There were also frequent fall-outs between members of the community themselves. The Stockholm 'Roll of Fines' for 1569 shows that the skipper John Sinclair was fined 80 marks after his crew caused trouble in Södermalm, while the Scottish merchant Andrew Lamentan had injured someone in the thigh for which he paid 40 marks.⁴⁸ Thomas Cockburn, a deceased burghess of Stockholm, was named in court cases involving Andrew Keith and Hans Blandt in 1573 as he had owed them money before his death.⁴⁹ That same year David Scott appeared in the Stockholm court objecting that one Jacob Patan had called his wife a whore. Two years later he was back complaining about Colin Maxwell, in whose ship he had invested but lost money on.⁵⁰ In 1599 William Broun, a Scottish clerk of the Muster roll, was accused of committing adultery with the wife of Blasius Dundee, the aforementioned Stockholm burghess, causing some bitter consequences.⁵¹ More seriously, the four Scots James Wilson (Wulfsson), Andrew Gray (Gräa), James Cunningham (Kininge) and 'Hans Wurm' were noted in Stockholm accused of the murder of one Anders Svensson. Although several local people were called in as witnesses, no verdict is recorded in the case, but it is known that these four Scots were imprisoned for a time.⁵² Another Stockholm murder occurred in 1622 and involved a group of nine Scottish naval officers ranging in rank from a new ensign to a senior admiral. A fight broke out and the newly recruited Ensign Logan was killed by Captain Muir, his relative. As Grosjean points out, this unsavoury incident at least shows that the Scottish maritime community socialised together on-shore, even if it did have a disastrous result on that occasion.⁵³

However, an inherent problem with such records as these is that they skew the image of the subjects concerned, focusing as they do

⁴⁷ J.A. Almquist, ed., *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1568–1575* (Stockholm: 1941), 7.

⁴⁸ Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare*, 250. Lamentan is also rendered Lami and Lamiton in various sources.

⁴⁹ Almquist, *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1568–1575*, 261, 263, 269, 272; T. Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, (Edinburgh: 1907), 215.

⁵⁰ Almquist, *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1568–1575*, 376 and 426.

⁵¹ F.U.W. 'Blasius Dundie' in *Person Historisk Tidskrift*, vol. 3 (1901), 41–52.

⁵² Nils Saf, ed., *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker, 1605–1608* (Stockholm: 1963), 194–5.

⁵³ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 131.

on the negative, the criminal or the belligerent elements of the community. It is therefore important to balance such information with that gleaned from a variety of other sources, particularly the numerous account books, civic records and personal testimony. By so doing it is possible to build up an alternative and often positive picture of the Stockholm-Scot. It also enables us to demonstrate that this community could eventually seriously challenge the dominance of the Germans and Dutch in Stockholm. Even if they did not do so numerically, then certainly the influence they wielded in the city by the second-half of the seventeenth century is worthy of note. They did this despite measures taken by the authorities to ensure that foreigners could not exploit the markets at the expense of home-based merchants, and it is to these that we turn first.

Merchants and Entrepreneurs

The Swedish Crown regularly enacted legislation to limit foreigners' rights to engage in domestic trade in the kingdom. The *Handelsordination* of 1607 restricted traders who were not burgesses to an eight week period of activity in Sweden per annum, and in 1612 this was reduced to only six weeks.⁵⁴ About thirty years later, legislation was imposed on rights to ship commodities as exemplified by a Swedish customs order of 1643 forbidding 'foreigners' from having shares in cargoes.⁵⁵ Swedish citizenship for skippers and pilots carrying Swedish cargo was also enforced in 1667, and the wives of these men also had to live in Sweden.⁵⁶ Those Scots who settled in the country thus had a significant advantage over their counterparts from England, who tended only to remain for a short time abroad before returning to England 'to make their proper careers'.⁵⁷ Indeed, it can easily be demonstrated that over 150 identifiably Scottish merchants

⁵⁴ Murdoch and Grosjean, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg', 196.

⁵⁵ For more on this ban see C. Dalhede, *Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad* (3 vols., Partille: 2001), vol. 2, 259. It should be observed that integration did not always mean taking citizenship.

⁵⁶ Dalhede, *Handelsfamiljer*, vol. 2, 260.

⁵⁷ See L. Müller, 'Britain and Sweden: the changing pattern of commodity exchange, 1650–1680' in P. Salmon and T. Barrow, eds., *Britain and the Baltic* (Sunderland: 2003), 75.

based themselves in Stockholm throughout the seventeenth century, of which around 100 can be shown to have been granted burgess status between 1601–1707 enabling them to overcome Sweden's protectionist measures.⁵⁸ In so doing, they not only benefited themselves, but also their countrymen who wished to have a share of the trade in Swedish commodities.

Many Scots came to Sweden as small-scale pedlars, but they were quick to diversify and they traded in numerous commodities including iron, timber, tar and tobacco among other goods.⁵⁹ Limitations of space here do not permit each and every Scottish merchant in the city to be discussed, but suffice it to say that many also became involved in large-scale production and distribution of various goods. Piia Einonen notes that in 1597, a collective of Stockholm burgesses complained to Duke Karl about the activities of four fellow-citizens who, they said, conducted large-scale trade to the detriment of many citizens, and one of those named was the Scot, Thomas Michey.⁶⁰ Indeed, massive investment became the business signature for many Scottish families. Many involved themselves directly in the development of Swedish mercantilist policies which were under development and review from the 1660s onwards.⁶¹

Of all the Scots in the city, one man in particular embodies the characteristics of the Stockholm-based Scottish entrepreneur. Daniel Young from Arbroath became an important entrepreneur, not only to Stockholm, but to Sweden generally and Scotland as well. Having arrived in Sweden in 1645 after a stint in Lübeck, this man rose from being a *krämhandlare* (essentially a packman) to burgess of Stockholm

⁵⁸ Further research has significantly added to the numbers recorded in Murdoch, *Network North*, 141. For the main sources for these figures see SSA, 'Borgare i Stockholm: Register', volumes for 1601–1650 and 1651–1688; SSA, 'Handelskollegium Borgarbok, 1689–1750'. Nationality is not ascribed in these sources. For a full discussion on the issues of early modern Scottish nationality, naturalisation and cultural assimilation see *Network North*, 49–83. Information on the Stockholm burgesses has been collated from a variety of documentation and gathered in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database, 1508–1707* [SSNE Database] (St Andrews: 2004-). Available online: www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne

⁵⁹ Murdoch, *Network North*, chapter 3.

⁶⁰ P. Einonen, *Poliittiset areenat ja toimintatavat. Tukholman porvaristo vallan käyttäjänä ja vallankäytön kohteena n. 1592–1644* (Helsinki: 2005), 152. I thank Dr Einonen for translating the relevant pages from her dissertation for me.

⁶¹ Müller, *The merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 46 and *passim*.

within only four years.⁶² He was so successful that he was ennobled in Sweden and took the name of Leijonancker thereafter. His interest and efficiency in the manufacture and trade in cloth continued to develop throughout the 1660s–1680s. Along with the Stockholm councillor, Hans Olofsson Törne, he obtained the rights to a textile mill on Södermalm, a glove factory in Tyresö and a *klädestamp* or ‘waulk-mill’ in Vättinge. He successfully courted support from the *Kommerskollegium* (Board of Trade) and a group of Swedish financiers who backed his manufacturing enterprises.⁶³ By 3 November 1669, Leijonancker’s expenses in establishing his new factory were estimated at 17,100 rixdaler and he requested the minting of some 2,000 ship-pounds of copper to be exported and the tax raised used to offset his costs.⁶⁴

The importance of Leijonancker’s ventures was noted by the city administrators, and they flourished to such an extent that, by the end of the decade, his cloth-manufacturing operation in the Södermalm quarter of Stockholm employed at least 600 spinners, and a total workforce of around 1,200.⁶⁵ He variously retained between 30–60 weavers, operated two dye-colouring works in the city and envisaged an expansion to include four other towns close to the capital employing a workforce of thousands.⁶⁶ Further to the construction of workshops, Leijonancker also built houses for his workers next to his factories and ensured that most aspects of production could be done on one site.⁶⁷

⁶² SSA, ‘Borgare i Stockholm’: register, 1601–1650, 39. Burgess of Stockholm, 17 November 1649; N.A. Kullberg, et. al., eds., *Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll* (18 vols., Stockholm: 1878–1959), [hereafter SRP], vol. 15, 1651–1653, 302. 24 March 1652.

⁶³ *Sveriges Ridderskaps och Adels Riksdags-Protokoll* (17 vols., Stockholm: 1873–1902), vol. 11, 320. Minute 19 October 1672; *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexicon*, [hereafter SBL], vol. 22, 452–453.

⁶⁴ SRA, *Kommerskollegium till Kungl. Maj:t*, vol. 2,—Re. Daniel Leijonancker. 27 April and 3 November 1669.

⁶⁵ *Sveriges Riddarskaps och Adels Riksdags Protokoll*, vol. 11, 310. Minute 19 October 1672. Leijonancker noted that within days he could collect several thousand workers in Sweden and augment production from 15–20 ‘st. rak’ per year to several thousand. For further comment see S. Gerentz, *Kommerskollegium och Näringslivet 1651–1691* (Stockholm: 1952), 219; SBL, vol. 22, 452. Given estimates of Stockholm’s population being around 42,000 by 1676, Leijonancker must have been responsible for the employment of a serious proportion of the available labour force. The population estimate comes from N.J.D. Pounds, *An historical geography of Europe, 1500–1840* (Cambridge: 1979), 124.

⁶⁶ *Sveriges Riddarskaps och Adels Riksdags Protokoll*, vol. 11, 310. Minute 19 October 1672.

⁶⁷ Gerentz, *Kommerskollegium och Näringslivet*, 203–204; SBL, vol. 22, 452.

In 1674–75 discussions on the textile industry took place at the highest levels in both the city council and the *Riksråd*, and it was observed that increasing the manufacturing base of the industry proved useful in giving work to orphans, the unemployed, the homeless and even prisoners.⁶⁸ Through his mercantile expansionism, Leijonancker not only made a healthy profit for himself, but he also contributed to the livelihoods of Stockholm's disadvantaged indwellers and thus the good of the city.

Just as the cloth industry benefited from Leijonancker's expertise, the Swedish iron industry also found itself being exploited by his countrymen. Stockholm was unsurprisingly the chosen location of the offices of the largest iron producing consortiums.⁶⁹ The Stockholm burgesses James Henderson and James Semple are both worthy of note for their participation in the distribution of the product domestically and internationally. Semple became the largest exporter of Swedish iron to England in the 1650s.⁷⁰ Henderson's iron trade was also significant, as he supplied the Stockholm-based Dutch Momma-Reenstierna family with some 568 ship-pounds (worth 13,148 daler) in 1650–51 alone.⁷¹ However, among the most important Scottish families in Stockholm (indeed in Sweden) engaged in the iron trade were the Lyall brothers—David, Henry, Adam and James.⁷² The family both produced and exported the commodity, James exporting 55,290 ship-pounds and David 12,706 ship-pounds between 1651–60, making them together the third largest exporter of the commodity from Sweden (behind

⁶⁸ C.F. Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik inom Stockholms stadsförvaltning, 1668–1697* (Stockholm: 1958), 136–137.

⁶⁹ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 19.

⁷⁰ See SSA, 'Borgare i Stockholm': register, 1651–1688, 240. Burgess of Stockholm, 19 December 1666; S.E. Åström *From Cloth to Iron: The Anglo-Baltic Trade in the late Seventeenth Century* (Helsingfors: 1963), 138; Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 87. Semple still traded in the commodity into the 1670s.

⁷¹ Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 87 and 94. See also SRA, Förteckning över Momma-Reenstierna Samlingen, part C: brev till bröderna Momma-Reenstierna ingångna skrivelser, section 2, brev till Jacob Momma-Reenstierna—E2506, 38, 1655–1657, 17 letters.

⁷² James, David and Adam Lyall became burgesses of Stockholm. See SSA, 'Borgare i Stockholm': Register, 1601–1650, 45. James became a burgess on 27 April 1639. For his family see Register, 1651–1688, 145 and 150. David became a burgess on 19 June 1652. An Adam became a burgess on 29 October 1670, but which Adam is not clear as the family numbered at least four individuals of that name.

the Momma-Reenstierna brothers and Abraham Bex).⁷³ They also cooperated with Adam Raddou, the fourth-largest exporter, who was James Lyall's brother-in-law and a crucial member of the Lyall kin-based consortium.⁷⁴ Once his exports are added into the equation, the combined family firm of Lyall-Raddou actually exported the largest amount of iron, totalling some 130,000 ship-pounds. The total export decreased slightly in the following decade: James exported 33,465 ship-pounds while David exported 21,980 ship-pounds worth of iron.⁷⁵ This once more placed them above the Momma-Reenstierna brothers in amounts exported, thus signifying their position of importance within the iron export market since the Momma consortium is often used as a benchmark by historians of Sweden's entrepreneurs. As demonstrated elsewhere, the Scots were keen to involve themselves in the production of Swedish iron and copper, and many became foundry owners, forge managers or both, administering over forty such complexes in Sweden.⁷⁶ Quite a few of these became burgesses of Stockholm, although the Lyall brothers were undoubtedly the most significant.

Scottish entrepreneurs quickly embedded themselves into the national structures overseeing ore-mining and the industrial production of iron. Robert Kinnemond became a secretary in *Bergskollegium* (Board of Mining) in 1683 and *Bergsråd* (senior councillor) within the body around 1713.⁷⁷ David Lyall junior received his *Bergskollegium* appointment in 1688 giving him influence as regards responsibility over the labour market and setting his own agenda for the production

⁷³ Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, 138–140. Åström states that in 1651 James Lyall accounted for 5% of Stockholm's iron export personally. See also Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 86–87; M.B. Nergård, *Mellan krona och marknad: Utländska och svenska entreprenörer inom svensk järnhantering från ca 1580 till 1700* (Uppsala: 2001), 232, 242, 260, 262. In 'Britain and Sweden', 68, Müller estimates the annual export of the family during the 1650s to have been 13,000 ship-pounds annually.

⁷⁴ James Lyall married Margaretha Eden (1627–1653) in Stockholm in January 1644. After her death he took a second wife, Barbera Maria Dress (1632–1694), whose father Andre came from France and mother, Elisabet Schaeij, came from the Dutch Republic. For Raddou to have been Lyall's brother-in-law, he must have married a sister of James, or there was another wife, or one of the names of the wives given in *Svenska Adels Åttartavlor* is not complete. See SAÄ, vol. 4, 521.

⁷⁵ Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 86–87.

⁷⁶ Scots in the Swedish iron industry are discussed at length in Murdoch, *Network North*, 184–193.

⁷⁷ SRA, *Bergskollegii skrivelser till Kung. Maj:t. 1640–1840*—Re. Robbert Kinnimundt, sec. i *Bergskollegium och Bergsråd*. Various letters and co-signed documents, 1683–1719.

process through his numerous suggestions to new *bergsordningar* into the eighteenth century.⁷⁸ Lyall was eventually naturalised as a Swede in 1717, ennobled in 1719 and continued in his role as *bergmästare* until 1722. His cousin Adam Henriksson Lyall took on the same position of *bergmästare* in Öster and Västerbergslagen in 1700 before also being made an assessor in *Bergskollegium* in 1713.⁷⁹ Through the Lyall kin group, the network linking *bruk* ownership to production and export is succinctly encapsulated.

In addition to trading and producing goods, Scots were also involved in the Stockholm shipping industry, albeit often in partnership with non-Scottish entrepreneurs. For example, in 1631, the burgess-brewer James Fife became a director of *Skeppscompagniet* (The Stockholm Shipping Company).⁸⁰ Robert Rind, also a Scottish burgess, became an important ships' broker of Stockholm in 1657.⁸¹ Another significant ship-owner was Margaret Strang (née Pattillo), widow of the Forfar merchant burgess of Stockholm, William Strang, from whom she probably inherited her ships in the early 1660s.⁸² By the middle of that decade *Västervik Skeppscompagniet* (The Västervik Shipping Company) had become the largest shipping company in Sweden, with 14 ships totalling 2,700 lasts in 1666. Daniel Young Leijonancker and Sophia Forbes (wife of *Riksråd* Axel de la Gardie) were both shareholders and directors of the company. However, in 1666, Young, Forbes and their Dutch partner Jacob Momma-Reenstierna left the company, taking

⁷⁸ SRA, Bergskollegium skrivelser till kung. Maj:t, XIX—Re. David Lyall, 17 September 1684–3 February 1722; SRA, Kungl. brev avseende Gävle—Re. David Lyall. Brev till Bergskollegium re Borgmästare David Lyall i Orten, 28 March 1693; SRA, Kammerskollegium till Kungl. Maj:t.—Re David Lyall, 2 May 1694; SBL, XXII, 450; Hedblom, *Från Gästrikland*, passim. Haggrén, *Hammarsmeder*, 178, 242, 249, 255–6, 264, 286, 288–9; Nergård, *Mellan krona och marknad*, 261.

⁷⁹ SRA, Bergskollegii skrivelser till Kung. Maj:t. 1640–1840—Adam Henriksson Lyall, 1699–1741; SBL, XXII, 449–450. Indeed, Adam went on to become a regional governor in 1744.

⁸⁰ SBL, vol. 15, 507–510; SAA, vol. 1, 676–677; Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 26–29, 32. By October 1631, he and two others approached the *Riksråd* seeking funding for the furnishing of four of their seven ships to be sent to Spain and France. See *SRP*, vol. 2, 117 and 204. *Riksråd* minute, 14 October 1631 and 26 October 1632.

⁸¹ In June 1639, Rind donated 800 daler to the poor-house of Stockholm, indicating just how wealthy he was. See Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 30 and 34.

⁸² For reference to widow Margaretha Strang as a ship owner see Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 182; for her marriage to William Strang see A. Reid, *The Royal Burgh of Forfar* (Forfar: 1902), 136 & 417–418.

with them six ships and forming a new partnership.⁸³ One of their employees remained behind, George Guthrie, who continued to work as the company book-keeper.⁸⁴ Scots also married into shipping interests as in the case of Emerentia Lyall, second wife of Mårten Bunge, a man who was described as 'at the top of Stockholm's ship-owners'.⁸⁵ By 'becoming Swedish', the Scots entered the Swedish shipping industry allowing them access to the Swedish trade routes, but also letting them avoid the English Navigation Acts which would have prevented them participating in at least some aspects of their trade with England or the Dutch Republic.⁸⁶

From the above, it can be demonstrated that Scots played an important part in the mercantile development of the city of Stockholm, both by deploying their business acumen and investing capital in a variety of industries, including shipping. However, they did not simply do so as merchants or entrepreneurs (albeit wealthy ones), but also from positions of authority in a variety of institutions based in Stockholm.

Stockholm's 'Institutional' Scots

In the introduction to this chapter it was mentioned that in Stockholm, unlike Gothenburg, there was no specifically Scottish institution to which the Scots might affiliate to either strengthen their cultural identity or protect their commercial interests. However, that does not mean that there were not Scots embedded in Stockholm's institutions to which their countrymen might turn should the occasion demand it, as those in the *Bergskollegium* reveal. Alexia Grosjean has previously demonstrated the level of penetration achieved by the Scots into the Swedish noble elite in the seventeenth century. Her figures reveal that by 1660, some forty-seven Scots (mostly soldiers) had been ennobled and introduced into the *Riddarhus* (House of Nobility), some of whom

⁸³ Sophia Forbes was the wife of Axel de la Gardie. Her business dealings were her own affair and her trading continued throughout her life. See H. Hofberg, *Svenskt Biographiskt Handlexikon* (2 vols., Stockholm: 1906), vol. 1, 232; SAA, vol. 2, 793; Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 181.

⁸⁴ SAA, vol. 3, 402; SBL, vol. 17, 494–97. Guthrie was born in Sweden in 1644 but remained a Scottish citizen until his ennoblement in Sweden in 1681.

⁸⁵ Corin, *Självstyrelse och kunglig maktpolitik*, 285.

⁸⁶ For more on this, though not specifically mentioning Scots, see S-E. Åström, 'The English Navigation Laws and the Baltic Trade, 1660–1700' in *The Scandinavian Economic History Review*, Vol. III, No. 1 (1960), 3–18.

built large and impressive dwellings for themselves in Stockholm.⁸⁷ During the reign of Karl XI, a further thirty-four Scottish family members were elevated to the nobility, giving the Scottish nation considerable influence among the Swedish social elite.⁸⁸ Furthermore, by the second half of the seventeenth century, Scots merchants and manufacturers also numbered among the elite of Stockholm's and Sweden's entrepreneurs. This facilitated their penetration of the institutional bodies which actually controlled Swedish trade. For example, James Lyall became one of the most influential of the forty-eight *äldste* (aldermen) of the city by 1674.⁸⁹ These men represented the merchants and guilds to various institutions such as the Stockholm *Råd* (City Council) and *Riksdag* (Swedish Parliament). In 1677 James was one of three merchants representing the *äldste* to the *Råd* to protest about the challenges to the privileged 'freedoms' (*helfrihet*) the city enjoyed in regard to the tolls.⁹⁰ Two years later, his brother Adam was one of forty-four Stockholm merchants who sent a further supplication to Karl XI seeking the reintroduction of *helfrihet* for goods transported on large foreign ships which the Crown had decided were too costly. The following year he was selected as one of the two signatories to the letter to the government reiterating this request.⁹¹ Interestingly for this study, when the likes of Lyall approached the Stockholm *Råd* or *Riksdag*, they could find allies from Scotland working inside the given institution.

Unlike their countrymen in Gothenburg who had the apparent 'advantage' of being granted two seats on the city council, in Stockholm there was no such restriction set, and what has appeared to be a benefit to the Gothenburg-Scots comparatively seems more like a limitation. Stockholm-Scots were free to join whichever institutions

⁸⁷ For example, Count Robert Douglas had a five-storey palace built for himself on the exclusive Stockholm island of Blasieholmen. It was the work of the Royal Architect Jean de la Vallée and represented his first attempt at designing a private dwelling. See C. Ellehag, *Jean de la Vallée: Kunglig Arkitekt* (Lund: 2003), 202–203.

⁸⁸ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 148–149.

⁸⁹ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 172.

⁹⁰ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 199.

⁹¹ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 243–245. Henry Fife, an alderman of the goldsmiths, found himself undertaking a similar role in 1694 when the burgesses wanted to be privy to information relating to how taxes were calculated. The councilors tried to appease them by appointing deputies who would have access to future supplications. These included various merchants, tradesmen, artisans and two aldermen, of which Fife was one. *Ibid.*, 511.

they liked in whatever numbers they could—and they unquestionably took advantage of the opportunities afforded to them. One institution they became involved with was the Stockholm *Råd* which varied in size but was usually composed of around twenty-one councillors; Andrew Boij served as a councillor in the city between 1632–1668.⁹² He was joined on the council in the late 1630s by James Fife who maintained this position for over 20 years and James Maclean who also served on the council between 1640–1663.⁹³ Alexander Petrie had been made a burgess in 1634, and was still serving as a notary and councillor in 1671, though his status as extraordinary councillor was contested.⁹⁴ The goldsmith Alexander Clerck, a burgess from 1633, also served as a councillor until at least the mid 1660s.⁹⁵ His son, and *Stadsfiskal* (city accountant), Jacob Clerck was a councillor in Stockholm from the late 1660s until his death in 1679, albeit it took until 1672 for his status to be confirmed.⁹⁶ He served contemporaneously with the Scottish burgess and councillor, James Watson.⁹⁷ In these seven men Stockholm possessed a variety of councillors from the Scottish community, many of whom served together over a protracted period of time. This cohort also bucked the trend since most places on the council had been reserved since the 1620s for university graduates (*literatta*), and only a third for merchants (*det handlande borgerskapet*), though it is clear that most Scots on the council came from the latter class.⁹⁸ Of the *litterata*, Jacob Clerck more or less forced his way onto the council (along with two Swedes) despite opposition

⁹² SAA, vol. 1, 472–473; *Stockholms Rådhus och Råd* (2. vols, Stockholm: 1915–1918), II, 42; Murdoch, *Network North*, 186, 192, 215, 221.

⁹³ *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexicon*, vol. 15, 507–510; SAA, vol. 1, 676–677; Maclean, *The Macleans of Sweden*, 1–4, 25–26.

⁹⁴ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 72, 79, 81. Corin notes that he was confirmed as a councillor extraordinary in 1669; *Stockholms Rådhus och Råd*, II, 282.

⁹⁵ Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 216, 260. For a late reference to him as a councillor see *SRP, Ny Följd*, vol. 2, 1678–1679, 1682, 183 & index. 27 March 1679, reference to the [late] Rådman Clerck. However, it is my suspicion that this 1679 reference is to his son Jacob rather than Alexander.

⁹⁶ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 77–79, 81, 102–104.

⁹⁷ SSA, 'Borgare i Stockholm': Register, 1651–1688, 263. *Borgmästare* Watson was buried in Riddarholms Kyrka on 17 May 1678. A later addition to the *Råd* was Johan Lyall who served as councillor between 1706–1726. See *Stockholms Rådhus och Råd*, II, 57.

⁹⁸ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 72 and 78; L. Jespersen, ed., *A Revolution from Above? The Power of State of 16th and 17th Century Scandinavia* (Odense: 2000), 79.

by the king's administrator for the city, *Överståthållare* Axel Sparre.⁹⁹ What is more, Boij enjoyed two of the four *borgmästare* (specialised mayors) positions of Stockholm when he was made *byggningsborgmästaren* (mayor for buildings) of Stockholm in 1663. James Watson also became a *borgmästare* of the city in the 1670s thus significantly adding to the Scottish influence in the council.¹⁰⁰ Among the later additions to the *Råd* was Swedish-born Carl Fife, who served as a notary in the *Politikollegium* in the 1680s and became a councillor in the *Råd* thereafter.¹⁰¹ It should not be forgotten that women married to councillors and noblemen might exert an influence through so-called 'pillow diplomacy'.¹⁰² The entrepreneur Sophia Forbes absolutely had an ear in the *Riksråd* after 1674 when her husband became a Councillor of the Realm. Nor should Emerentia Lyall's marriage to Mårten Bunge (who was made a councillor in 1669) go unnoticed. This is particularly relevant given the approaches by her uncles, James and Adam Lyall, to the city council in the later 1670s when Bunge served as one of the four *borgmästare* of the city (and James Watson another).¹⁰³

The Scottish city councillors usually represented a constituency of about twenty to thirty Scottish burgesses at any one time, as some died or moved on (although there were always others to replace them). And just as the *äldste* could look to the *Råd* for help, so too could the council make supplications to higher authorities in its continual struggle to secure the best concessions for its citizens. These were clearly formalised under the Swedish 'Form of Government' of 1634 which established the state administration around five main 'Colleges' being *Kammarkollegium* (Treasury), *Kansliet* (Chancellery), *Hövratten* (The

⁹⁹ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 72 and 78. In Stockholm the *Överståthållare* oversaw the four *borgmästare* of the city. Jespersen, *A Revolution from Above?*, 79.

¹⁰⁰ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 52–57; *Stockholms Rådhus och Råd*, II, 42.

¹⁰¹ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 277, 279, 316.

¹⁰² For the potential importance of Scottish wives utilising 'pillow-diplomacy' for the advantage of Scots in Sweden see Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 158. For the role of women in power-politics in early modern Sweden see P. Lindström, 'Kvinnor i den lokala politiken på landsbygden i Sverige under 1600-och 1700-talen' and S. Norrholm, 'Svenska adelskvinnor och politik 1632–1771' both chapters in Åsa Karlsson Sjgren, ed., *Kvinnor och Politiki det Tidligmoderna Norden* (Reykjavik: 2007), 135–173. For an interesting review of the roles of Scottish women in Scandinavia at this time see S. Talbott, 'Scottish Women and the Scandinavian Wars of the Seventeenth Century' in *Northern Studies*, no. 40 (2007), 102–127.

¹⁰³ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 71 & 285.

High Court), *Krigskollegiet* (War College)¹⁰⁴ and *Amiralitetet* (Admiralty College).¹⁰⁵ Economic aspects of the administration were dealt with by *Bergskollegium* (Board of Mines) and the *Kommerskollegium* (Board of Trade).¹⁰⁶

Just like the Stockholm *Råd*, many of these institutions too had been penetrated by Scottish families. For example, Daniel Young Leijonancker served as a commissioner in the *Kammarkollegium* (Treasury) from 1669–1674,¹⁰⁷ where he was joined by several Swedish-born Scots. George Guthrie acted initially as a book-keeper in 1670 before being promoted to commissioner within the book-keeping office.¹⁰⁸ Jakob Boij also served as a commissioner from 1674 while Robert Kinnemond acted as a notary in the Treasury in 1678.¹⁰⁹ A later addition came through the person of Johan Porteous who also became a notary in the 1690s, and was later promoted to *Kommisarie* (Senior Commissioner) on 29 April 1712.¹¹⁰ Leijonancker also became a commissioner in *Kommerskollegium* in the 1670s and elevated to *Kommersråd* (Senior Commissioner) in 1682, in which capacity he remained until the autumn of 1684.¹¹¹ This body dictated the direction of all Swedish commerce, set prices on particular goods, and issued the rights to monopolies such as that for cloth and salt. It also held ultimate responsibility for the Swedish sea tolls and the issuing of sea-passes to all Swedish shipping. But of them all it was Leijonancker who made the greatest impact on Stockholm. For example, at a time

¹⁰⁴ The most important Scots in this body were *Krigsråd* Field Marshal Robert Douglas (d. 1662) and *Krigsråd* General Patrick More (d. 1680). The Swedish born Scot Alexander 'Arvid' Forbes also served as *Krigsråd* until his death in 1665.

¹⁰⁵ The Scots in this body included *Amiralitetsråd* Holm-Admiral John Clerck (d. 1644); *Amiralitetsråd* Holm-Admiral Richard Clerck (d. 1668); *Amiralitetsråd* Holm-Admiral John (Hans)Williamson Clerck (d. 1677); *Amiralitetsråd* Admiral Hans Clerck (d. 1711 or 1718).

¹⁰⁶ Jespersen, *A Revolution from Above?*, 69.

¹⁰⁷ Kileberg, *Svenska Ämbetsverk, Del. VI:I Kammarkollegium*, 67.

¹⁰⁸ SAA, vol. 3, 402; SBL, vol. 17, 494–97.

¹⁰⁹ For Jakob Boij see Kileberg, *Svenska Ämbetsverk, Del. VI:I Kammarkollegium*, 89. For Robert Kinnemond see the same volume, 108. Kinnemond, though Swedish-born was not naturalised as a Swede until 1680, and thus remained legally Scottish.

¹¹⁰ SRA, *Kommerskollegii underdåniga skrivelser 1651–1840*—Johan Porteous, 7 April 1700, 27 January 1703, 28 June 1710, 25 October 1720 and 19 June 1724; Kileberg, *Svenska Ämbetsverk, Del. VI:I Kammarkollegium*, 70. Johan was Swedish-born but maintained contact with his Scottish-based relatives and was not naturalised as a Swede until the 1690s. See Murdoch, *Network North*, 224–225.

¹¹¹ SAA, vol. 4, 523; Gerentz, *Kommerskollegium och Näringslivet*, 56, 59, 139, 142, 191, 202, and 219.

of large-scale administrative reforms in 1673, the *Överståthållare* appointed four individuals to observe a projected inventory-taking of the city's institutions and Leijonancker was selected to represent the *Kommerskollegium*.¹¹² This is interesting given that it was around this time that Leijonancker played an integral part in the *Råd* discussions which looked to the use of orphans and prisoners as part of his textile workforce. It is perhaps worth pointing out that one of the three men in charge of Stockholm's orphanages and prisons was *Rådsman* Jacob Clerck.¹¹³ Perhaps the common Scottish heritage played no part in any decision made by these men to use their positions to each others advantage, although that would certainly run contrary to the known behaviour of Scots elsewhere, or indeed Leijonancker in particular.¹¹⁴ Moreover, Leijonancker (like other Scots) could also appeal the *Riksdag* for support for his projects, and in this institution there were also friends from the Scottish community.

There had been some Scots in the Swedish Parliament in the 1630s, and there was continual Scottish representation in every decade until the well into the eighteenth century. For example, Colonel William Spens sat in both the 1638 and 1640 Swedish *Riksdag* as a member of the noble estate.¹¹⁵ The soldier Peter Udnie from Aberdeen took up his seat in 1647, the same year he was ennobled and introduced into the *Riddarhus* (House of Nobility).¹¹⁶ However, it was the second-half of the century that witnessed the most meaningful contribution to the *Riksdag* by Scots. Udnie was followed into the parliament by Colonel William Barclay, who had been introduced into the *Riddarhus* in 1654 and thereafter attended the *Riksdag* for the next four years.¹¹⁷ In the 1660s, the community was represented by the Stockholm goldsmith, Alexander Clerck, who attended the 1664 *Riksdag* as part of the burgh class.¹¹⁸ But once more it was Leijonancker who proved the most influential of the Scots to participate in this institution. He became

¹¹² Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 121.

¹¹³ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 102–104.

¹¹⁴ Murdoch, *Network North*, passim.

¹¹⁵ *Sveriges Riddarskaps och Adels Riksdags-Protokoll* (17 vols, Stockholm: 1910), volumes for 1638 and 1640; SAÄ, vol. 7, 429.

¹¹⁶ *Sveriges Riddarskaps och Adels Riksdags-Protokoll*, volume for 1647; SAÄ, vol. 8, 411; Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 263–264.

¹¹⁷ *Sveriges Riddarskaps och Adels Riksdags-Protokoll*, volumes for 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657 and 1660; SAÄ, vol. 1, 232–3.

¹¹⁸ *Borgarståndets Riksdagsprotokoll före frihetstiden* (Uppsala: 1933), 388.

involved in the *Riksdag* in 1672 and thereafter sat in the parliaments of 1675, 1678, 1682–83 and 1686, though he did so as part of the noble class.¹¹⁹ Despite this, his main contribution in the parliament was driven by self-interest and certainly pertained more to entrepreneurial activity than landed interest. When manufacturers pressed for ever-increasing centralised production they looked to Leijonancker as their spokesman. The need for laws facilitating the concentration of the workforce was a point frequently argued by Leijonancker in the *Riksdag* on behalf of the Swedish textile industry, with the previously mentioned positive results for his own factories being one of the outcomes.¹²⁰

It was not the only intervention by Scots in the affairs of 'civic Stockholm' during this difficult decade in which Sweden engaged in wars in Germany (1672 & 1674) and against the Dutch and Denmark-Norway (1675–1679). The expense of these wars caused consternation among the entrepreneurial and civic elite. Indeed between 1677–79 an increasingly forceful Crown faced an ever more self-assertive Stockholm *Råd*, with Jacob Clerck taking a lead in organising the civic belligerence.¹²¹ In early 1677 Clerck proposed that it would be a wise move by the city to stay one-step ahead of the Crown and create additional 'extraordinary councillors' to accommodate the growing tensions between the city and the Crown. The background to this was a belief that many councillors were engaged in work for the Crown, causing their civic duties to suffer and perhaps loyalties to be split. The appointment of extraordinary councillors was mooted as a solution which eventually received the endorsement of the whole council.¹²²

Just as Clerck was anticipating the impending struggle for power between the various factions, another *Riksdag* was held, this time in Halmstad. Leijonancker was again present, and was joined by another Scot, the merchant William Halliday. Leijonancker actively used his position to benefit non-resident countrymen and Scottish trade in particular. He pointed out to the *Riksdag* the problems of importing English wool into Sweden, but also that Scottish wool was just as

¹¹⁹ SAÄ, vol. 4, 523.

¹²⁰ For further comment see Gerentz, *Kommerskollegium och Näringslivet*, 203; SBL, vol. 22, 452–453.

¹²¹ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 201.

¹²² Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 145.

good, albeit that Pomeranian wool was cheaper.¹²³ Despite the extra cost, and through Leijonancker's intervention, demand for wool, cloth and other materials grew so much that Scottish imports to Sweden increased while English imports suffered directly as a result.¹²⁴ For his part Halliday had been selected by the forty-eight elders of Stockholm as one of six representatives (four councillors and two burgesses) to attend the *Riksdag* to petition the Crown to reduce the ever-increasing financial burdens being placed on the city.¹²⁵ Ironically perhaps, these additional costs were in-part coming from the presence of some military Scots in the town. In 1676, Colonel William Barclay died and was eventually replaced as *Stadsöversten* (City Colonel) by Colonel John Forbes.¹²⁶ He received his royal warrant in 1678, albeit the citizenry viewed the office as unnecessary and expensive, as they had since Barclay's appointment in 1656. Forbes was eventually relieved of his command, not through any negligence on his part, but because the king and civic Stockholm were in a state of near perpetual conflict, and Forbes became an expendable element in order to placate relations between city and state.¹²⁷ However, further tensions were created by the recruitment pressures and financial burdens placed on the city by Major General Robert Lichton whose troops were billeted in the town during the Scanian War (1675–1679). The citizens were grudgingly forced to pay the expenses for his troops, though whether the Scots in the *Råd* or *Riksdag* were either for or against Lichton remains uncertain.¹²⁸

It is apparent that Scots among the *äldste*, *Råd* and *Riksdag* occasionally came into conflict with the military Scots, Barclay, Forbes and Lichton. However, we also know that within the *Riksdag* they very often had positive dealings with their countrymen from other towns and cities, both among the burgess class and the nobility. The most active of these men, apart from Leijonancker, appears to have been the Mayor of Örebro (and sometime Stockholm burgess), Thomas Clerck,

¹²³ For Leijonancker see *Sveriges Riddarskaps och Adels Riksdags Protokoll*, vol. 11, 309–315.

¹²⁴ For the beginnings of the decline of English cloth exports to the Baltic see Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, 68–76, and 144.

¹²⁵ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 104, 201 and 204.

¹²⁶ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 63 and 211.

¹²⁷ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 212.

¹²⁸ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 201, 203, 208–209, 253–255, 426.

who attended at least seven parliaments between 1660 and 1680.¹²⁹ The important point to note here is that in coming to Stockholm to sit in the *Riksdag*, Clerck was both among family, friends and countrymen inside and outwith the parliamentary sessions. Mutual support among the Scots always proved important, and in Stockholm that was particularly so during the times of pressure witnessed in the 1670s and 1680s.

Fractional relations between Crown and city were accompanied by a period of protectionist measures designed to further domestic exports and create barriers to unnecessary imports while regulating duties on both.¹³⁰ Interestingly, in *Kommerskollegium*, it was predominantly Daniel Leijonancker who was responsible for introducing these measures regarding textile production, albeit not without some inconsistencies in his argument.¹³¹ On the one hand, he pressed for measures to forbid the use of foreign textiles to encourage increased Swedish production for the benefit of the Crown (and the entrepreneurs) through increased revenues.¹³² On the other hand, Leijonancker used his influence to establish better trading conditions for his 'foreign' Scottish associates.¹³³ Thanks to Leijonancker, Patrick Thomson (the religious exile) gained some elusive *helfrihet* for the spinning of tobacco, despite his not being a citizen of Sweden. He was further authorised to purchase a ship and cargo to be sailed to Sweden by another Scot, John Gib.¹³⁴ Leijonancker provided details of where to buy the ship, but specified and that the *helfrihet* applied to the city of Stockholm only,

¹²⁹ *Borgarståndets Riksdagsprotokoll före frihetstiden* (Uppsala: 1933), 30–31, 42–44, 47–49, 174, 201 and 209. Other Scottish representatives at Swedish parliaments in Stockholm in the seventeenth century included Mayor John Guthrie (Åbo 1640, 1642), Councillor John Maclean (Gothenburg, 1649), President John Spalding (Gothenburg, 1660, 1664), Mayor Thomas Clerck (Örebro, 1660, 1668, 1672, and 1680), Andrew Spalding (Gothenburg, 1697).

¹³⁰ Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 101–102; J.J. Murray, 'Baltic Commerce and Power Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century' in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (May, 1943), 300–301.

¹³¹ Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 339. For Scottish involvement with the earlier Swedish Tar Company of the 1660s–1670s see Murdoch, *Network North*, 212–213.

¹³² Corin, *Självstyre och kunglig maktpolitik*, 339.

¹³³ This is discussed in more detail in Murdoch, *Network North*, chapters 3–6.

¹³⁴ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/608. Patrick Thomson to Andrew Russell, 26 June 1686.

ensuring no other city benefited from his intervention.¹³⁵ The ship was flagged as Swedish and therefore allowed to sail 'toll-free' to and from Stockholm through the Danish Sound.¹³⁶ Further, Leijonancker was able to procure a grant for Thomson to import Scottish wool free of all customs for a period of five years.¹³⁷ The number of Scots trading as Swedes certainly increased after Leijonancker and Thomson became partners and what appears to be a drop in British trade to Sweden in the 1690s can be shown to have simply been Scottish traders disguising their trade to gain tax breaks in both Sweden, Denmark and elsewhere.¹³⁸ This was directly due to the influence wielded by the Scottish community in Stockholm, and Daniel Young in particular.

Conclusion

There can be little doubt that the activities of the Scots in Stockholm were of considerably more importance than in any other Swedish city or province. This is both in terms of the participation in and directing of Swedish commercial activities at least until the foundation of the Gothenburg-based Swedish East India Company. What has yet to be ascertained is the impact of the British Treaty of Union on the Scots and English in the city, particularly once (or if) they developed a truly British dimension to their activities. Certainly before 1707, the Scots eclipsed their neighbours in the exploitation of the Swedish markets, particularly in iron, cloth and tar. Henry Roseveare believed that the presence of Scottish merchants in the late-seventeenth century represented 'a new phenomena' to Stockholm and categorically stated that they had little to do with Stockholm's foreign trade.¹³⁹ The evidence

¹³⁵ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/608. Patrick Thomson to Andrew Russell, 10 October 1686.

¹³⁶ This contrasts sharply with the Kommerskollegium's attitude to a London-merchant, Jacob David, whom they exposed as a 'dummy' for the Dutch merchant Phillip Botte. See Åström, 'The English Navigation Laws and the Baltic Trade, 1660–1700', 16.

¹³⁷ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/608. Patrick Thomson to Andrew Russell, 23 October 1686.

¹³⁸ Müller, 'Britain and Sweden', 67. Müller notes the decline of English (meaning British) shipping, but was unaware of the re-flagging practices of the Scots at this time. For a review of other Scottish ships that made use of this ploy see Murdoch, *Network North*, 245–246.

¹³⁹ In commenting on Alexander Waddell's presence in Stockholm, Roseveare added that he was a 'member of that large Scottish community now settled in Stockholm'

presented here reveals this observation to be quite erroneous. This brief review has established a number of features about the Scottish civilian presence in the city that evolved from the arrival of a single merchant into a thriving community of merchants, entrepreneurs, artisans, scholars, clergymen, soldiers, sailors, administrators, noblemen and humble servants. Some brought their spouses and families, while others intermarried with members of the Dutch, German and Swedish communities in the city. Interaction between all the various groups is apparent across boundaries of nationality and social hierarchy, and all expertly used to widen social networks in which the Scots were engaged. The Scots invested in industries as diverse as shipping companies, iron production and cloth manufacture, all of which very much involved them in overseas trade.

Birgitta Lager-Kromnow asserted that English merchants had arrived in Stockholm long before the Scots. If true, they were certainly unable to exploit their advantage.¹⁴⁰ With over one hundred of the Stockholm-Scots becoming burgesses, and a similar number of other merchants and artisans inhabiting the city, the importance of the Scottish community in comparison to the English presence becomes self-evident. Various authors have previously conflated the various nations of the British Isles found in Stockholm with Englishmen. In particular, Scots who had an English trading connection were mistakenly identified as Englishmen, thus exaggerating both the presence of the English and their importance to British-Swedish commercial relations.¹⁴¹ Indeed, contemporary sources were scathing of their contribution. In December 1679, the Hamburg merchant Abraham Wolters commented that the Englishmen in Stockholm were “inexperienced young idlers” who spent “whole days in wine—and tobacco houses (which

(my italics). See H. Roseveare, ed., *Merchants and Markets of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Marescoe-David Letters, 1668–1680* (Oxford: 1987), 171; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 138–143; Müller states that ‘they did not play a very significant role in Stockholm’s foreign trade’, yet admits to omitting the Scottish Lyall family due to their long residence in Sweden. See Müller, ‘Britain and Sweden’, 76.

¹⁴⁰ Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare*, 231.

¹⁴¹ One estimate states there were about thirty ‘Englishmen’ in Stockholm in the second-half of the seventeenth century. Roseveare, *Merchants and Markets*, 171. Among the Scots erroneously noted as English merchants by Roseveare and others are: Robert Gardin, William Halliday, George Marjoribanks, Alexander Pattillo, William Strang, Patrick Thomson, Robert Watson and the Lyall brothers.

are very expensive here)".¹⁴² In the 1690s the British envoy to the city believed the 'English colony' to have consisted of only ten or twelve people, of whom he declared only six to seven earned more than they spent.¹⁴³ We must conclude therefore that the important commercial relations between Sweden and Britain in the later seventeenth century were largely dominated by a variety of Scots who as readily traded with London as Hamburg, Rotterdam or their native country, and often behind the camouflage of Swedish names and citizenship.

As stated in the introduction, the real competition the Scots in Stockholm faced never came from the English anyway, but rather from the Dutch, Germans and indigenous Swedes. It is true that the Scots never got on a par with the German community in terms of numbers, and complete data for the Dutch community has yet to be compiled. Nonetheless, whatever the numerical statistics, the Scottish community was certainly one of the most significant entrepreneurial groups in the city, particularly in the 1650–1690s period. It was during this time that significant Dutch families such as the Momma-Reenstiernas were forced to take notice of their Scottish competitors and their extended networks. The Momma family fell behind the Scots in the export of goods, and twice lost court cases to Scottish competitors—once to the Stockholm burgess John Kinnemond,¹⁴⁴ but most destructively to Daniel Young Leijonancker.¹⁴⁵

These anti-Momma legal cases were indicative of the highpoint of the Scottish presence in Stockholm. Remembering the Scots serving as aldermen, city councillors, parliamentarians or in the financial or commercial institutions—and the way they exploited these positions—it is clear that a body of embedded Scots were coordinating their activities to their own best advantage and that of their fellow countrymen—naturalised Swedes or otherwise. For sure, there were some jobs the

¹⁴² Roseveare, *Markets and Merchants*, 559. A. Wolters to John Gosselin, 27 December 1679.

¹⁴³ Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, 149 quoting John Robinson, 1695.

¹⁴⁴ SRA, Momma-Reenstierna Samlingen: Affärer och processer med nedan nämnda enskilda personer, E2591, vols. 123 and 124, 1655–59.

¹⁴⁵ SRA, Momma-Reenstierna Samlingen: Affärer och processer med nedan nämnda enskilda personer, E2593 (sometimes called 2594), vol. 126, Leyon. 1. Folder with c. 60 copies of letters from Leijonancker in Swedish, German and Dutch mostly 1665–1683; SRA, Momma-Reenstierna Samlingen, part C: brev till bröderna Momma-Reenstierna ingångna skrivelser, section 2, brev till Jacob Momma-Reenstierna—E2511, 43, La-Li. 5 letters, 1667–1671 from Stockholm and Lübeck; Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm*, 60 & 189.

Scots never attained such as *Överståthållare* of the city. Similarly there were only brief spells when a Scot sat in the *Riksråd*, so there were roles largely reserved for indigenous Swedes.¹⁴⁶ Nonetheless, there were Scottish interests represented in the other institutions after the 1690s; Henrik Leijonanker joined his father in the *Riksdag* in 1686 and represented the family in 1693 after his father's death.¹⁴⁷ Joining Henrik in this latter sitting were Admiral Clerck, Colonel Hamilton, Major Clerck and Ensign Stuart from the military and naval communities.¹⁴⁸ There was also a host of native, second and third-generation Scots in other positions thereafter. However, the present investigation points to the period 1650–1690 as one where the Scottish presence in Stockholm achieved its greatest momentum. Leijonanker and his countrymen made a demonstrable impact to the commercial opportunities in Sweden, Scotland as well as England and elsewhere.

This survey has amply demonstrated that the Scots in Stockholm formed one of the most important overseas Scottish communities in the seventeenth century. Without doubt, 'Scottish-Stockholm' was not so large as the Rotterdam community meticulously researched by Douglas Catterall.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, in terms of Scots admitted as burgesses, Stockholm represents a slightly smaller community than Bergen in Norway.¹⁵⁰ It is, however, on a par with Danzig where 135 Scots became citizens between 1537 and 1709 (out of a population of 500 Scots), and at least six times the size of the Gothenburg community.¹⁵¹ Moreover, it is not the quantitative aspect of their presence that makes the Stockholm-Scots of interest in this case-study, but rather the qualitative nature of their presence. There can be few other major cities in seventeenth-

¹⁴⁶ The two Scottish State Councillors of Sweden were *Riksråd* Field Marshal Robert Douglas and the Swedish-born *Riksråd* General Alexander 'Arvid' Forbes.

¹⁴⁷ *Sveriges Riddarskaps och Adels Riksdags Protokoll*, XV, 439 and XVI, 158, 181.

¹⁴⁸ *Sveriges Riddarskaps och Adels Riksdags Protokoll*, XVI, 153–154, 156.

¹⁴⁹ D. Catterall, *Community Without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden: 2002).

¹⁵⁰ There were some 219 Scots admitted in Bergen between 1613–1711, 193 of them before 1660. See N. Ø. Pedersen, 'Scottish immigration to Bergen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in Murdoch and Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 146.

¹⁵¹ Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, 140. Åström notes only 18 English burgesses in the same period; For the 500 indwellers see A. Biegańska, 'Andrew Davidson (1591–1660) and his descendants', in *Scottish Slavonic Review*, vol. 10 (1988), 7; M. Bogucka, 'Scots in Gdańsk (Danzig) in the Seventeenth Century', in A.I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. Pedersen, eds., *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Lothian: 2000), 39–40. For the Gothenburg statistic see Grosjean and Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Gothenburg', 221–222.

century Europe in which the inroads by Scots into the fabric of the civic and commercial apparatus can be shown to be so comprehensive both at city and national level contemporaneously. Thus it is hoped that this small contribution to the history of Stockholm will encourage further research to quantify and contextualise other foreign communities within the city in the same period—particularly the Dutch, Germans and Walloons. Only once that is done will the real significance of the Scottish community become apparent through a full comparative analysis of the nations that made early modern Stockholm flourish.

APPENDIX A
SCOTTISH BURGESSES OF STOCKHOLM TO 1707¹⁵²

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Year Arrived</i>	<i>Admitted Burgess</i>
Oswald Kilfauns	Merchant	1569	
Thomas Felor	Merchant	1569	1575
Blasius Dundee	Merchant	1569	1583–1621
Thomas Cockburn			1573
Thomas Ogilvie	Merchant		1589–1600
Thomas Michay			1590s
James Crawford	Merchant		1604–1620
Thomas Clemetson	Merchant		1604
Henry Ellert	Merchant	1577	1604–1615
Robert Gardiner			1600s
James MacLean	Merchant/ Councillor		1609–1663
Richard Wood	Merchant	1609	†1646
Henry Smith			1615
Thomas Duncan			1616–1621
David Anderson			1617–1639
Anders Masson	Merchant		1618
Robert Rind	Ship-Broker	1610s	1619–1657
William Petrie	Iron Merchant		1620s–1644
Eric Cahun	Merchant	1617	1620s
James Fife	Brewer/Councillor	1618	1620s–1657
Thomas Clerck	Councillor/Mayor	1622	†1682
James Aitkin (Akin)			1624
James Erskine			1624
James Forbes	Merchant	1600	1624–1656
Andrew Boij	Financier/ Councillor	1620s	1632–1668
Donald (Donat) Fife	Silk Merchant	1610s	1633–1644
George Ross	Merchant		1633
David Fife	Merchant	1618	1633–1648
Alexander Clerck*	Goldsmith/ Councillor	1600s	1636–1679

¹⁵² The years noted here refer only to a probable date of burgess-ship. Several of these men had been in Sweden long before their date of becoming burgesses. The * refers to Swedish-born Scots. There are many 'probable' Scots left off the list, particularly names such as Anderson etc.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Year Arrived</i>	<i>Admitted Burgess</i>
James Gardiner	Ships-merchant	1620s	1630s
David Anderson			†1639
Robert Gardiner	Goldsmith	1620s	–1644
Solomon Fife		1630s	1630s
Alexander Petrie		Notarie/Councillor	1634–1670s
George Petrie			1635
John Petrie	Merchant	1628	1636–1640s
James Porteous			1637–1669
Robert Petrie	Iron Entrepreneur	1628	1638–1644
John Kinnemond	Merchant	1628	1638–1658
James Gregor	Silk Merchant		1638–1649
William Hay	Merchant		1638–1659
James Henderson	Iron Merchant		1638–1657
James Lyell	Iron Merchant	1638	1639–1678
John Halliday	Merchant	1634	1640s–1654
Robert Strang	Merchant		1640s– †1651
Robert Smyth	Merchant		1640s–1670s
Robert Edzlie ^o	Merchant		1640
William Guthrie	Merchant	1612	1641–1697
Robert Kinnemond*	Merchant/ Bergsråd		1647–1719
Albert Guthrie			1648
William Lindsay	Merchant		1648–1656
Daniel Young			1649–1680s
Leijonancker			
William Strang	Merchant	1648	1649–1665
Peter Chambers	Merchant	1646	1650–1680
John Primrose	Merchant Grocer		1650–1660s
Alexander Buchan	Merchant	1640	1650–†1676
Hercules Strang			1652
David Lyell	Iron Entrepreneur	1638	1652–1676
Lawrence Buchan	Wine Merchant		1655–1680s
James Maistertoun	Merchant		–1658
William Guthrie	Merchant		1660–1680s
Walter Guthrie	Merchant	1652–1678	
Jacob Watson	Councillor/Mayor		1660–†1678
Thomas Wilson			1661
Abraham Clerck			†1661
William Buchan*	Merchant	1643	1663–1670s
James Semple	Kommissarie		1666–†1677
William Gardiner			1667
Alexander Davidson			1668
Henrik Fife			1669

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Year Arrived</i>	<i>Admitted Burgess</i>
James Lyell			1669
Berndt Kinnemond*			1670
Thomas Cunningham	Merchant	1659	1670s–1697
Alexander Waddell	Merchant	1660s	1670–1676
Adam J Lyell*	Iron Merchant	1658	1670–1729
Donat Fife*	Goldsmith	1648	1670s–1709
David Fife*			1673
Simon Storie			1673
Hans Kinnemond*	Merchant		1676
Niclas Clerck*	Goldsmith		1676–1680s
Hans Clerck*	Goldsmith	1670s	1678 †1679
James Thomason	Kopparslagare		1678
Johan MacLean*	Vintner		1681–1690s
Carl Fife*	Notarie/ Councillor	1670s	1682–†1720
Hendrich Fife	<i>Rådman</i>	1683	†1755
James Harper	Clothes Merchant		1684
Johan Porteous*			1690s
Robert Petrie	Merchant		1690
Andrew Carmichael	Merchant		1691
Donat Fife*	Merchant		1691
James Jaffrey	Merchant		1691
Robert Jaffrey	Merchant		1692
Samuel Fife	Merchant		1692
Joshua Smeaton	Merchant		1693
William Smith	Merchant		1693
William Allen	Merchant		1693
William Black	Merchant		1693
Jasper Stewart	Skipper	1690s	–1694
Jeffrey Little	Merchant		1696
William Robert Petrie	Merchant		1696
Thomas Watson	Merchant		1696
John Charteris	Merchant	1695	1697
William Jacob Petrie*	Merchant		1700
John Fife	Merchant		1702
John Spalding*	Merchant	1680s	1703–1738
Thomas Pattillo	Merchant		1703
James Walker	Merchant		1704
Johan Lyell	Merchant/ Councillor	1700s	–1709

APPENDIX B
ADULT SCOTTISH CIVILIAN RESIDENTS OF STOCKHOLM TO 1707¹⁵³

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Year Mentioned</i>	<i>Year Departed</i>
Hans Skotte			†1563
Hans Skotte			†1565
James Tait		1566	
Johan MacPherson		1569	
John (Hans) Sinclair	Skipper	1569	
Andrew Lamentan	Merchant	1569–1582	
Hans Jamesson		1572	
Alexander Hepburn	Merchant	1573–1616	
Nicholas May	Merchant	1574	
James Blackert	Merchant	1574	
David Poll		1576	
Hans Filleness		1576	
Robert Kostun (of Stirling)		1576	
Jacob Mansson	Servant	1576	
George Jamesson	Servant	1576	
Hans Anderson		1577	
Jacob Hannson	Servant	1577	
Robert Crichton	Clergyman	1577	
Henry Elder	Servant	1577	
Andrew Clement		1582	
Clement Skotte		1582	
James Neave		1582–1595	
Erland Mackner		1582	
Hans Wass (Watson)		1582	
William Lami		1582	
William Davidson		1582	
Andrew Keith		1582–1598	
William Anderson		1582	
Mr Neave			†1584
Andrew Angus		1587	†1590
Andrew Orix			†1589
Anon.	J. Krahe's Servant		†1594
William Broun	Muster Clerk	1599	

¹⁵³ There are many other possible Scots who have been left of and are awaiting verification of their origins.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Year Mentioned</i>	<i>Year Departed</i>
William Forbes		1603	
Alexander Young	Servant	1610	
Alexander Gray		1611	
William Watson	Servant	1611	
Charles Hannay	R. Wood's Servant	1614	
Richard 'Scot'		1615	
Hans Weir	Merchant	1615, 1616	
'Henrik'	'Scottish Tailor'	1618	
Gilbert Halliday		1618	
Michael Buchan		1618	
Alexander Reid	Skotsk skräddare	1619	
John Hannson		1619	
Dr James Robertson	Royal Physician	1610s	†1652
James Logan	Merchant	1620	
Thomas Rennare	'Skotsk köpsven'	1621	
William Perrot	'Skotte'	1624	
Albrecht Johanson	J. MacLean's Servant	1632	
Thomas Glend		1635	
James Stewart	Tailor	1636–1653	
John Matthews		1636–1653	
George Gardiner	'Skottskedräng'	1636–1653	
Henry Lyell	Iron Master	1638	†1710
Alexander Matthew (of Dundee)		1640–1645	
Peter Forbes	Kopparberg Director	1640–41	
Alexander Murray		1641–1644	
Albert Scott		1643	
Wellam Anderson		1644	
David Carnegie		1646	
John Fife		1640s	
Hans Primrose		1648	
John Gahn	Merchant	1649	
Robert Douglas	Rigsråd	1650s	†1662
Margaret Pattillo	Ship-owner	1650s–1670s	
William Barclay	City Colonel	1650s	†1676
John Hunter	Goldsmith	1655	
Robert Gray		1656	
Albert Strang			†1661
James Maistertoun		1661–1694	
Peter Fife	Wine Merchant	1661–1683	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Year Mentioned</i>	<i>Year Departed</i>
David Hunter		1664	
John Anderson		1668–1677	
Elisabeth Russell			†1669
David Strang*		1670s, 1684	
Daniel Strang*		1671	
William Douglas	Nobleman		†1674
Elisabeth Dundee		1678	
John Sinclair		1679, 1680	
William Halliday	Merchant	1679	†1697
William Halliday	<i>Rådman</i>	1674–1727	†1727
Margaret Barclay		1682	
Robert Smith		1682	
Albert Smith		1682	
Christina Smith		1682	
Alexander Strachan		1682, 1685	
Alexander Strang			†1684
Daniel Fife		1684	
Patrick Thomson		1685–1690s	
Adam Lyell			†1686
Thomas Hatton			†1687
Alexander Pattillo	Merchant	1686–1688	
James Key		1687	
Sophia Forbes*	Entrepreneur	1687	†1701
Jacob Sander Buchan		1689	†1689
Robert Watson		1690s	
Peter Barclay*		1691	
Alexander Bogie	Translator	1691	
Thomas Porteous	Bookkeeper		†1692
William Watson	Merchant	1687–1693	
Charles Thomson	Merchant	1693	
Joseph Storie*	Tobacco Spinner		†1694
Alexander Storie*			†1698
Henrik Lyell	Merchant	1697	
Albrecht Gardiner	Merchant	1697	
Laurence Clerck	Landshövding		†1698
Alexander Buchan		1698	
Claus Barclay*		1699	
Robert Cumming	Merchant	1700	
Gustaf Douglas*	Landshövding		†1705
Adam Maistertoun			†17

SCOTI, CIVES CRACOVIENSES: THEIR ETHNIC AND SOCIAL IDENTITY, 1570–1660

Waldemar Kowalski

This study examines how much the Scots who lived in Little Poland in 1570–1660 identified themselves and were perceived as a separate ethnicity. To answer this question, we must analyse how ethnic and territorial identity formed the immigrants' ties with their immediate environment and how those ties influenced their social integration. Thus, the discourse must comment on the Scots' relationships with the local authorities as well as on professional and family interactions. These issues will primarily be presented by referring to the exceptionally rich archives of the city of Cracow. Ethnic identity and social integration can be traced by analysing the individuals who introduced the Scots into the urban corporation, besides the people whom the immigrants appointed as executors of their testaments, as guardians and godparents of their children, and with whom they entered into commercial enterprises. Other important issues, like marriage preferences, religion and language, can only be addressed briefly at this stage of research. Moreover, little has been discovered to date about the ethnic and social identity of the Scots who were citizens of other Polish towns, so integration processes other than those within the Cracow agglomeration will only be referred to occasionally in this study. Contextualisation includes legal and ethnic relations in the late medieval and early modern central European city as well as the networks the Scots made at home and abroad.¹

¹ For an extensive introduction, see A. Wyrobisz, "Mniejszości etniczne i wyznaniowe w miastach Europy wczesnonowoczesnej (XVI–XVIII w.)," in J. Chrobaczyński, A. Jureczko, M. Śliwa, eds., *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Kirykowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Cracow: 1993), 471–484; S. Grzybowski, "W kręgu miast. Problemy nietolerancji i różnorodności wyznaniowej oraz kulturowej w czasach wczesnonowoczesnych na tle porównawczym," in A. Kaźmierczyk, A. K. Link-Lenczowski, M. Markiewicz, K. Matwijowski, eds., *Rzeczpospolita wielu wyznań* (Cracow: 2004), 35–45; L. Belzyt & J. Pirożyński, eds., *Metropolie Europy środkowo-wschodniej w XV i XVI wieku* (Cracow: 2000). A solid, detailed comment on the early modern migrations from the Isles has been presented by David Worthington, "An overview of recent research on the theme of Irish and

Scots were not documented in Cracow in large numbers prior to the 1560s, although they had long settled there by that decade, as merchants and, much less frequently, as craftsmen (goldsmiths and clothiers).² Followers of the teachings of the Swiss reformers prevailed. By 1573, James and Martin Morrison, father (1509) and son (1546), had been accepted into the urban corporation, while in 1544, Anna, once the wife of the late Fabian Russell, had presented her testament to the city authorities.³ However, according to the registers of the admitted, between 1573 and 1655, seventy-eight Scots were granted citizenship, including immigrants' children born in Poland as well as those for whom the capital was not the first Polish city they had settled in. Nevertheless, the official registration is far from complete, as other sources mention about twenty Scots and Cracow citizens not confirmed in the *libris juris civilis Cracoviensis*. Indeed, at the turn of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, the Scots could have composed even ca. 0.7% of the whole urban population of Cracow. According to estimates based upon surnames, over 27,000 Poles (77%) lived in the entire agglomeration, which included Cracow and its satellite towns, Kleparz and Kazimierz, the Wawel castle and the suburban areas. The

Scottish emigrants and exiles in early modern Europe," *Almanach Historyczny* 8 (2006): 33–44. Recent main studies in the field include A. Grosjean & S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*. [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: History, Culture, Religion, Ideas, 107] (Leiden-Boston: 2005); S. Murdoch, *Network North. Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746*, [The Northern World. North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 AD Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 18] (Leiden-Boston: 2006); D. Catterall, "At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8.3–4 (2004), 319–357. A wider context can be learned from S. McKee, ed., *Crossing Boundaries: Issues of Cultural and Individual Identity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* [Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 3] (Turnhout: 1999); *Segregation, Integration and Assimilation in Medieval Towns*. Central European University, Budapest, 20–22 February 2003 [<http://www.esh.ed.ac.uk/CEU/Program.html>].

² In 1569 Sir John Skene met "ane great multitude" of Scottish pedlars in the city [that is in Cracow]; T.C. Smout, N.C. Landsman, T.M. Devine, "Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in N. Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800* (Oxford: 1994), 77, 80.

³ A. Kielbicka, Z. Wojas, eds., *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1507–1572. Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1507–1572* (Cracow: 1993), nos. 146, 2384; Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie [hereafter AP Kraków], Archiwum miasta Krakowa [hereafter AmKr], Testamentalia, MS 772, p. 358. On the structure and competence of Cracow urban institutions, see Z. Noga, *Urzednicy miejscy Krakowa, cz. 2: 1500–1794* (Kraków: 2008).

less numerous ethnicities in the city included up to 150 Scots.⁴ Outside the city walls, an unknown number of Scots dwelled in the adjacent towns and suburbs that the agglomeration comprised, an area that could have been inhabited by ca. 33,000–36,000 people before the decade of calamities, that is, the 1650s.⁵ Even if not as many people fell victim to the flood in 1652 and to the pestilence in 1651–1653 as was suggested in the writings of the day, a demographic catastrophe during that decade seems unquestionable.⁶ More widely, according to the statistics based upon taxation sources, in 1578, 30% of the population of western Little Poland, that is, of the Cracow, Sandomierz and Lublin palatinates, was urban, whereas in 1662 the rate was only 15%. Yet, even around 1600, apart from Cracow, only fifteen towns could have been inhabited by ca. 2,000–5 000 people. Other urban settlements were at most local trade and craft centres. Scots were present in every main settlement and in numerous less economically significant ones during the period under consideration, although their relations with their immediate social environments have not yet been studied thoroughly.⁷

Protectors of the Scots, applicants for citizenship

Table 1 presents the Cracow townsmen who recommended the Scots for citizenship as well as those who testified to their birth *legitimi thori*. These were usually one and the same person.

⁴ L. Belzyt, "Grupy etniczne w Krakowie około roku 1600. Próba opisu topograficznego," *Studia Historyczne* 40.4 (1997): 469–470; his, *Kraków i Praga około 1600 roku. Porównanie topograficznych i demograficznych aspektów struktury społecznej i etnicznej dwóch metropolii Europy Środkowo—Wschodniej* (Toruń: 1999), 49–50, 223, 118–131.

⁵ J. Bieniarzówna, J.M. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII* (Cracow: 1984), 226–227.

⁶ Cf. Bieniarzówna, Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 362–363; J. Kracik, *Pokonać czarną śmierć. Staropolskie postawy wobec zarazy* (Cracow: 1991), 82–92; A. Karpiński, *W walce z niewidzialnym wrogiem. Epidemie chorób zakaźnych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku i ich następstwa demograficzne, społeczno-ekonomiczne i polityczne* (Warsaw: 2000), 193–213.

⁷ M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (Wrocław: 1986), 353–375; W. Kowalski, "The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 76–78.

Table 1 The guarantors that testified on behalf of the Scots who applied for Cracow citizenship, 1570–1660

Years	Newcomers			Born in Cracow			Percentage of Scots
	Number of cases	Scots	Others	Number of cases	Scots	Others	
1571–1580	2	1	4	1	2	–	57.1
1591–1600	6	7	4	2	4	–	73.3
1601–1610	3	8	1	4	9	1	89.5
1611–1620	3	3	4	3	4	2	53.8
1621–1630	8	16	–	6	6	4	84.6
1631–1640	1	2	–	9	5	13	35.0
1641–1650	1	2	–	3	4	2	66.7
1651–1660	4	3	3	3	3	3	50.0
Total	28	58		31	62		66.7
		42	16		37	25	
%	X	72.4	27.6	X	59.7	40.3	X

Sources: Kielbicka, Wojas, eds., *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611. Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1573–1611* (Cracow: 1994); AP Kraków, AmKr, Libri iuris civilis, MSs: 1424, 1425, 1427, 1431.

The table shows that the Scots who applied for citizenship were supported first and foremost by their countrymen. This group not only, unsurprisingly, helped the majority of newcomers in this way (72.4%), but also outnumbered (59.7%) burghers of other ethnicities in the body of the Cracow-born Scots applicants. Scottish guarantors predominated significantly in the years 1591–1610 (73.3% and 89.5%) and 1621–1630 (84.6%) although, in the other decades, their predominance is not quite so salient and, in 1631–1640, the Scots represent only 35.0% of those who supported applicants of the same nationality. In any case, the decade breakdown presented in Table 1 hardly lends itself to firm conclusions because of the sparse number of cases. We can analyse only fifty-nine such cases and seventy-one testifiers out of the entire number of seventy-eight applications. On the whole, however, the predominance of Scots (66.0%) over the Poles and Germans is evident as well as the Scots' declining role, which can be seen in their 75% participation by 1630 and 48% participation subsequently.

The majority of protectors and guarantors were registered only once. Eight of them appeared twice, three men, thrice (John Chalmer in 1597–1609, Alexander Dixon in 1609–1617 and Thomas Forbes in 1625–1639), besides two others who registered four times

(John Mora in 1591–1598, John Burnath in 1608–1625). Another Alexander Dixon was registered five times in the years 1645–1658, while William Peterson was noted six times between 1625 and 1639. Albert Kin stood before the Cracow Council seven times in the years 1586–1612, and eight people were recommended by George Emzle in 1617–1624.

Even though their personal mutual relations had to be sworn in every case, it is impossible to comment on the acquaintanceship between the applicants and their protectors. As a rule, the concise inscriptions do not allow one to delve into how close the individuals really were since the formulaic documentation was rarely supplemented with quoted testimonies. However, although such additions are not numerous, where they exist they are very informative about the integration of the Scots, showing their material status as well as social and geographical mobility. Such cases deserve a closer look.

In 1598, John Mora and James Dromondt assisted Regina, widow of the late Albert Joen, who had died while en route to Buda in Hungary. The woman was a daughter to Mathew Babski, the mayor of Skrzynno, a peripheral town in the Sandomierz palatinate. The Scots said that they knew:

prenominatum olim Albertum Joen, Scotum de civitate Abredonia oriundum, in matrimonium, juxta ritum Sacrae Ecclesiae Catholicae duxisse, supranominatum Reginam affectantem in civitate Skrzynense et ex eadem Regina filiam unam suscepisse, nomine Sophiam, seque non multo ante una cum uxore familiaeque sua hic Cracoviam transtulisse [- -] vita, ut fertur, functum esse.⁸

On 25 April 1634, a Cracow burgher and confectioner, Isaac Maierhoffer, gave evidence as follows: 'I knew the parents of this present Mr. Jeremiah Strachan, a Lublin goldsmith and I know that they were legally wed when they begot this son of theirs, because I was in Nurnberg at the time of their wedding.'⁹ Also, on 30 June 1638, *famatus* William Peterson said:

⁸ AmKr, Consularia, MS 455, p. 185.

⁹ AmKr, Consularia, MS 460, pp. 900–901. Maierhoffer (Mayerhever) was a Lutheran who, on behalf of his coreligionists, signed an agreement with the Cracow Reformed congregation in 1636; W. Węgierski, *Kronika zboru ewangelickiego krakowskiego*, M. Pawelec, ed. (Cracow: 2007), 114. All source quotes in English are translations from Polish.

I had a cousin, James Petterson in Sochaczew,¹⁰ who being legally wed to his wife Margaret Sylicka begot five daughters: Catherine, Anna, Agnes, Sophia and Mary. I raised and gave away in marriage three of them: Catherine to Albert Paypen, a Cracow burgher, Anna to Paul Roszkowic, a royal lutenist, Agnes to Paul Złomański, a Cracow burgher. Sophia, being a servant to a noblewoman married Thomas Casmir Kicki.¹¹ The fifth daughter, Mary, died after her parents. [- -] James and Margaret Petterson left Sochaczew for Mielec in Podgórze¹² before the great fire. However, they left a good deal of real estate in Sochaczew that is a manor, fields, houses, building lots etc., etc. that were inherited by the children.

This account was confirmed by James Carmichael, a Cracow burgess and trader,¹³ who added: 'I knew [the Pettersons] well when I served with John Wilson, a Poznań merchant. I traded with James Petterson and would visit him at his house in Sochaczew.' In addition, on 30 March 1639, John Forbes, a Cracow burgess and merchant, proved his blood relationship with his brother William, a gentleman and royal secretary, who died on a ship bound to Genoa. Thomas Ludwig Geltens, a Cracow soap-boiler and the supervisor of the city's scales declared: 'quos quidem præsentos filios et filiam [the Forbes—W.K.] bene novit ex conversatione quotidiana cum ipsis habita, et scit esse eos ex præfato Wilhelmo Forbes et Eva, conjugē, Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ Wladislai IV matrice, natos.'¹⁴ Furthermore, the Scots who were questioned by the capital's adjudicator (*advocatus*) admitted that the twelve Scottish brotherhoods that existed in Poland during those years were controlled by William Buchan from Kleparz, a satellite town of Cracow, as well as by the following burgesses of that city: Alexander Dixon, William Forbes, John Forbes, Gilbert Henderson, William Henderson, Gasper King, Gilbert King and Peter Orem.¹⁵ Four of them, that is Gilbert

¹⁰ *Famatus* was one of the two usual titles with which burghers in Poland were addressed. Sochaczew is a town in Mazovia, central Poland.

¹¹ He is described as "nobilis, de Pielgrzymowice" at the beginning of the note, so must have been a gentleman; AmKr, Consularia, MS 461, p. 181.

¹² A town in southern Little Poland, in the Sandomierz palatinate.

¹³ He was a member of the Cracow Evangelical community; Węgierski, *Kronika zboru*, 151.

¹⁴ AmKr, Consularia, MS 461, p. 351. Eva, the prince's wet-nurse is known to A. Grabowski, *Ojczyste spominki* (Cracow: 1845), vol. 1, 241.

¹⁵ S. Tomkowicz, "Przyczynek do historyi Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce," *Rocznik Krakowski*, 2 (1899): 164–165; J. Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie XVII wieku* (Leszno: 1937), 2.

King,¹⁶ Alexander Dixon and John Forbes in 1591 and 1605, as well as William Forbes in 1600 and in 1608, recommended their countrymen applying for Cracow citizenship. John Chalmer and John Mora [Moray?], who also appeared at the city council in such circumstances, are not known to have been brotherhood elders. Thus, the supposition that the elders controlled the admission of Scots to the city rights does not seem sufficiently validated. Unfortunately, it is impossible to verify how influential the elders could have been in other decades of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, because no relevant documentation is available.

Burghers of other ethnicities who provided guarantees on behalf of the Scottish applicants included: Paul Zutter, a councillor (1577),¹⁷ Daniel Chroborski, mayor in 1585,¹⁸ George Ardeni (1592), an Italian tailor from Mantua (1592),¹⁹ Andrew Laber, an assessor (1600), Melcher Burycht, a city taxman (1610), Lucas Frankowicz, a furrier (1620), Wenceslas Sławęcki, a merchant and assessor (1620),²⁰ Christopher Karniowski, a city's assignee (1623), Lucas Bohorodzki, a city scrivener (1624),²¹ John Młodzianowski, the goldsmith guild's elder (1625),²² Nicholas Schwartz (or Szwarc), a goldsmith (1625),²³ John Bem (1634, 1636), Albert Węgrzynowic (1634),²⁴ Christopher Ambrozowicz, a wealthy haberdasher (1639),²⁵ Nicholas Witkowski,

¹⁶ Most probably the same is known from other sources as Albert König; W. Kowalski, "Robert Spens i szkocka gmina w Krakowie u schyłku XVI stulecia," in B. Rok & J. Maroń, eds., *Między Lwowem a Wrocławiem. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Krystyna Matwijowskiego* (Toruń: 2006), 409–417.

¹⁷ Z. Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska w XVI wieku. Studium o elicie władzy* (Cracow: 2003), 354 and passim.

¹⁸ A Calvinist and a goldsmith; Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska*, 300–301 and passim.

¹⁹ A. Kielbicka & Z. Wojas, eds., *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611. Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1573–1611* (Cracow: 1994) [hereafter *Lic 1573–1611*], no. 1092 and passim.

²⁰ J. Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczaństwo krakowskie XVII w. Z badań nad strukturą społeczną miasta* (Cracow: 1969), passim; Bieniarzówna, Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 238, 240, 242.

²¹ A relative of a respected councillor, merchant and goldsmith's; Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczaństwo krakowskie*, passim.

²² Cf. Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczaństwo krakowskie*, 113.

²³ Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczaństwo krakowskie*, 113; K. Follprecht, ed., *Rejestry gospód w Krakowie z lat 1632 i 1649 ze zbiorów Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie i Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* (Cracow: 2005), 19.

²⁴ The Bems (or Behms) and the Węgrzynowics were Cracow patrician families; Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczaństwo krakowskie*, 23 and passim.

²⁵ He died in 1655; Bieniarzówna, Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 206. Follprecht, *Rejestry gospód*, 22, 184; her *Właściciele nieruchomości w Krakowie w 1655 roku* (Cracow: 2001), 64.

a goldsmith (1639), James Borkowski, a councillor and goldsmith (1651),²⁶ George Hakowic, a merchant (1651)²⁷ and John Romanowicz, a vice-alderman (1658).²⁸ It seems that the aforementioned guarantors could have been motivated by religious and professional solidarity with the applicants. At least half of them were members of the city's governmental bodies, that is, of the Council and the court called "the Bench". Besides, among those who were formally recommended by the Cracow notables were two of the brotherhood's elders, William Forbes and William Henderson.

Executors of testaments, guardians for the under-aged and godparents

The analysed group comprises fifty-two executors of twenty-three last wills.²⁹ The Urban Code did not limit individual rights in the choice of testament executors: Cracow testators informed the Bench whom they had designated to open their wills when leaving them with the office, while the executors were also named at the end of the document.³⁰ Only as an exception were they appointed by the Council, as happened

²⁶ Follprecht, *Rejestry gospód*, 20, 186; Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanstwo krakowskie*, passim.

²⁷ Follprecht, *Rejestry gospód*, 201; Bieniarzówna, Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 204.

²⁸ Follprecht, *Rejestry gospód*, 20; Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanstwo krakowskie*, passim. For more on the testimonium vocale, see H. Zaremska, "Homo bonae famae," in M. Bogucka, ed., *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*, vol. 1 (Toruń: 1996), 229–236.

²⁹ Confirmations of deposits of the last wills with the city authorities (hereafter D) and/or exact copies of the testaments (T) are available; the testators are as follows: John Burnath (1624-D), Albert Dixon (1652-T), Albert Dixon (1653-T), Alexander Dixon (1619-D), Robert Dixon (1622-D), Andrew Dunkan (1606-T), David Duer (1585-T), George Emzle (1622-D, 1624-D, 1627-T), Anna Forbes (1636-T), Thomas Forbes (1642-D), Gilbert Jung [Albert Jung/Young] (1605-T, D), Anna Kinge (1600-D), Anna I^o voto Kin, 2^o voto Romelman (1619-D), Gasper Kin (1635-T), Elizabeth Leber *de domo* Dickson (1595-T), Patrick Orem (1609-D), Thomas Orem (1624-D, 1625-D), Thomas Robertson (1607-D, 1611-D), John Wulson (1614-T).

³⁰ An extensive legal coverage has been furnished by J. Bardach, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, vol. 1: *do połowy XV wieku* (Warsaw: 1965), 508–509; Z. Kaczmarczyk, B. Leśnodorski, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, vol. 2: *od połowy XV wieku do r. 1795* (Warsaw: 1966), 310; S. Płaza, *Historia prawa w Polsce na tle porównawczym*, vol. 1: *X–XVIII w.* (Cracow: 1997), 303. Some practical aspects have been discussed by U. Sowina, "Testamenty mieszczan krakowskich o przekazywaniu majątku w późnym średniowieczu i we wczesnej nowożytności," in M. Nodl, ed., *Sociální svet středověkého města. Colloquia mediavalia Pragensia* (Prague: 2006), 173–183; cf. H. Jordánková, L. Sulitková, "Zásady testamentární praxe královského města na jihozápadě právu (na příkladu Brna)," in K. Jiřová, E. Doležalová, eds., *Pozdní středověké testamenty v českých městech. Prameny, metodologie a formy využití* (Prague: 2006), 39–53.

in the case of Gasper Kin, an apothecary (†1635), when the Council also granted executors the right to assess the chattel.³¹

Charging one with such a responsibility proved a measure of confidence. Testators did not always ask for permission before they named executors; the burden may have been regarded an honourable duty that one was simply not expected to abandon. Nevertheless, this did happen on occasion. Although, on 8 November 1605, Gilbert Young appointed John Haide in his last will, it was only a week later that the latter turned to the Bench to relieve him from his responsibility. Haide explained that he had been chosen without being asked, and was already overcommitted.³²

The group of fifty-two executors of the last wills of Cracow Scots comprised most frequently local burghers and also a few individuals living in Kazimierz, Kleparz and Chęciny. About one third were appointed as relatives of the dead. However, there is no reason to assume that the fourteen executors with Polish, German or Italian surnames were chosen because of their family relations with the Scottish testators. These fourteen people were not the same individuals who had recommended the admitted to city rights, and this time the participation of non-Scottish nationals is lower (27%). Less important factors were professional ties or even a servant's dependence on his lord. Only 15% of the executors were chosen more than once: John Forbes and George Emzle appeared in this role thrice, Peter Orem, four times, and four other people, twice.

According to the Urban Code, it was a city council's prerogative to appoint guardians for the under-aged, who were usually sought among orphans' relatives,³³ a law that was observed in Cracow too. For example, on 22 December 1625, the councillors elected two such individuals as conservators of the property due to the son of James Kin.³⁴ On

³¹ AmKr, Consularia, MS 460, pp. 1274–1275; cf. A. Stabrawa, "Z dziejów apteki Bonifacego i Kazimierza Cantellich, serwitorów królewskich w Krakowie przy ulicy Grodzkiej," *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny* 11 (2005), 64. Moreover, on 29 November 1642 John Smidt, Alexander Dixon and Vincent Łyszkowic applied for the right to study the value of goods left by late Thomas Forbes; AmKr, Consularia, MS 462, pp. 418, 469–470; cf. L. Hajdukiewicz, "Łyszkowic Wincenty," in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 18 (Wrocław: 1973), 612.

³² AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 29, 760–762, 768; Consularia, MS 456, 931.

³³ Cf. Plaza, *Historia prawa*, 255; S. Ozment, *Flesh and Spirit. Private Life in Early Modern Germany* (New York: 2001), 220–221 and *passim*.

³⁴ They were relatively young, which may not have been decisive but undoubtedly important; AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, p. 597. Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanństwo*, *passim*.

16 January 1655, guardians for the late Albert and Eva Dixon's children were chosen. Although Eva had named the conservators in her testament, they asked to be released from that duty, so the Council called on a relative, Sebastian Weber, together with James Cyrus, a burgher and goldsmith.³⁵ It seems, however, that the councillors' role was usually limited solely to the formal approval of a decision that had already been made in the family circle.

On 8 July 1605, Anna, a daughter of Albert Kin, a merchant and Cracow burgher, and the widow of the late Leonard Kin (or King), a Chęciny³⁶, burgher, was given James Kin, her brother-in-law and a Danzig burgher, as the guardian for her children and their assets. She married James Romelman, a Cracow goldsmith soon thereafter. Nonetheless, in 1611 her father accused the guardians of their children of wasting the legacy.³⁷ On 10 January 1619, Katarzyna Wietrzychowska, Albert Burnet's widow, chose John Burnet, a Cracow citizen and John Gordon in Tarnów as the protectors. Within a short time, she married another Scot, John Strachen, a Cracow merchant and burgher.³⁸ Another example comes from 20 December 1628, when Nicholas Dugieth, George Tytell and Lucas Sznok, merchants, Evangelicals and Cracow citizens, committed themselves to the custody of Sigismund Russell (Rayszchel), a son of the late Martin, merchant and goldsmith, and of Elizabeth née Dugieth, who married another goldsmith, Alexander Dixon, not long after.³⁹

On 14 August 1657, Alexander Dixon presented James Carmichael's testament to the Council. The testator mentioned Dixon as a guardian of his children in the document, but not as one of the inheritors. One reason for exemption that Dixon pointed to was his age. He said he was about sixty, which would have made him too old to take custody. Moreover, James Carmichael, the main conservator of his late cousin's property had been neglecting his duties and had not yet even opened the testament. This illustrates the law according to which a person

³⁵ AmKr, Consularia, MS 464, pp. 602–603, 738.

³⁶ Chęciny was a district town in the Sandomierz palatinate.

³⁷ AmKr, Consularia, MS 456, pp. 790–792; MS 457, pp. 885–887. James Romelman came from eastern Frisia, and received Cracow citizenship in 1595; *Lic 1573–1611*, no. 1582.

³⁸ AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 32, p. 1139.

³⁹ AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, 1015–1017; MS 462, p. 1435; Węgiński, *Kronika*, passim.

who was not listed among the inheritors was not bound to take up the duties of executor or guardian.⁴⁰

In his testament of 5 May 1652, Albert Dixon, a goldsmith, appointed his brother, Alexander, and another Alexander Dixon, his cousin, as guardians of his children. He also turned to other cousins to take care of his offspring.⁴¹ However, this was not forthcoming as we learn from his widow Eva Susanna's last will, which was read at the Bench on 16 December 1654. She asked the relatives of her late husband "not to hold grudges against me that I have not chosen them as legal conservators. They might get out of it as they excused themselves from the enforcement of my husband's testament, although he had appointed them, and they even did not want to see me".⁴² The religious difference could have been one of the reasons why Albert Dixon's widow and cousins did not get on well. She was Polish (nee Świerczkówna) and a devout Catholic. Her husband's religious preferences are unknown, but his cousins were Evangelical. All the aforementioned few cases allow one to assume that the legal practice of appointment of guardians in sixteenth-seventeenth century Cracow followed Roman family law (*tutela impuberum*—*tutela testamentaria*, *tutela legitima* and *tutela dativa*).⁴³

The following table provides information about godparents invited by the Scottish Evangelical families that belonged to the Cracow congregation.

Table 2 Godparents of children born to the Scottish Evangelical families in Cracow, 1610–1655

Years	Baptisms	Godparents		
		Total	Scots	
			Total	Percentage
1610–1620	8	40	15	37.50
1621–1630	8	37	12	32.44
1631–1640	18	116	52	44.83
1641–1650	23	128	32	25.00
1651–1655	6	30	11	36.67

Source: Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej w Krakowie, Księga wtóra, no signature, fols. 14–25.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kaczmarczyk, Leśnodorski, *Historia państwa i prawa*, 310; Płaza, *Historia prawa*, 255.

⁴¹ AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 38, 765–768.

⁴² AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 38, p. 1029.

⁴³ Cf. W. Litewski, *Rzymskie prawo prywatne* (Warsaw: 1990), 202–207.

The baptismal register employed here does not provide accurate data: godparents were left out on three occasions, and, in 1645, at least four baptisms were not documented by the minister's proxy, according to his testimony.⁴⁴ Moreover, witnesses to the baptismal ceremonies were considered Scots if they bore Scottish surnames, meaning that Scots' wives of other ethnicities could have been included and, not only that, but that townswomen born to Scottish families yet married to Polish or German burghers might have skipped. Thus, the proportions of Scots as godparents may be higher, in fact, than suggested in the percentages in Table 2. This cannot change the impression, however, that the congregational milieu was at least as important an immediate social environment for the Cracow Scottish Evangelicals as their ethnic background.

Credit, trade and guaranty

According to the German Code, at least the version of this commonly adopted in late medieval-early modern Poland, the Bench was the main judicial institution in the city. The Bench also served the public with notarial confirmations of legal actions, which were inserted in the office's registers. The City Council, however, was the leading institution of urban life. Furthermore, although legislation and administration were the Council's usual prerogatives, the body also acted as a court of justice if there was such a need in the councillors' opinion.

The documentation of the Cracow authorities shows that the Scots entered into credit transactions most often amongst those within their circle, an observation that is in accordance with similar studies based upon the Lvov records.⁴⁵ Commerce was commonly dependent on credit in those days.⁴⁶ Merchants borrowed monies, exchanged goods and set up joint-ventures to carry out business undertakings. Unfortunately, only sparse details of such transactions are available. Numerous inscriptions concerning the Cracow Scots as well as their

⁴⁴ Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej w Krakowie, Księga wtóra, no signature, fol. 23.

⁴⁵ Z. Guldon, "Szkoci w miastach województwa sandomierskiego w XVI–XVII wieku," in his *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Kielce: 1990), 7–47.

⁴⁶ Its significance has been discussed by S. Kazusek, *Żydzi w handlu Krakowa w połowie XVII wieku* (Cracow: 2005), 96–103.

countrymen in other Little Poland towns testify to debt turnovers, merchandise and cash sequestrers and acts of mutual guarantee.⁴⁷ The contracts the Scots commonly concluded with people from beyond their ethnic and social circles were purchase and sale transactions as well as occasional money loans. The Cracow customs house registers of 1593–1595, 1617–1618 and of the mid-seventeenth century often mention carters who carried goods entrusted with them solely by Scots, although there were exceptions. It would be scarcely possible, however, to determine how often such joint-ventures were limited only to the transportation of goods.⁴⁸ Not only was it the mayor and the councillors, but also and more frequently the alderman who presided over the Bench, consisting of assessors, as they confirmed commercial agreements and loan paybacks; such notarial declarations usually only very briefly illuminate contract details to the reader. For example, on 25 January 1642, William Huyson, Andrew Fryze and William Torr informed the councillors that they had made up a contract described in a special document (*“ratione rerum introcontentorum”*) and had it signed and sealed.⁴⁹ Some light is shed on mutual obligations in the accounts of the severely-ill Daniel Forbes, who, in 1624, was bed-ridden in the house of councillor and medical doctor Stanisław Zawadzki. Forbes said that he was behind-hand with his payment to John Guthrie, a merchant, for his loyal service. Thus, Guthrie was allowed to collect 2,000 fl. from Alexander Dixon, to whom Forbes had entrusted the money, in order to purchase goods in Silesia. The rest, 800 fl., Guthrie was to take back in merchandise.⁵⁰

Transactions were also documented in the city authorities' minutes when obligations had not been met. It seems, however, that the Scots lodged mutual litigations with the common urban courts only when there was no hope for conciliatory solutions from amongst the brethren. For example, on 17 February 1595, at the request of William

⁴⁷ For example, AmKr: *Acta officii advocatialis Cracoviensis*, MS 212, 127–128, 506; *Scabinalia*, MS 29, 638–639; MS 31, 240; *Consularia*: MS 456, 83, 499–500; MS 457, 683–684; MS 458, 73–74; 103–104, 914; MS 460, 885; MS 462, 211; MS 463, 1130–1132.

⁴⁸ For more on that, see W. Kowalski, “The Scots at the Cracow Customs House in the first half of the 17th Century” (to be published).

⁴⁹ The note has been ended with the following *“ad contractum in toto referendo alias in forma inscriptionis roboratoria plenissima”*; AmKr, *Consularia*, MS 462, 239.

⁵⁰ AmKr, *Scabinalia*, MS 33, 1130–1131.

Grim, a king's courtier, Thomas Michel, royal servitor, presented the circumstances in which Grim had lent a sum to Andrew Barten, a merchant, in 1589. Apart from Michel, there were other merchants who were witnesses to the contract: James Michel, Hercules Rent and David Maxell. The loan was to have been paid back by 16 February 1595. Yet, Barten fled Cracow without repaying even part of his debt.⁵¹ It therefore seems possible that the city courts considered cases which gave no hope for an effective execution of the brotherhood elders' sentence. David Duer from Dunfermline suggested in his testament account of 5 December 1585 that grievances were voluntarily submitted to the elders' arbitrary judgment.⁵²

On 29 March 1608, the gentlemen Andrew Ujazdowski and Albert Markowski collected 1,000 florins that the king had adjudged to them from the substance of the late Andrew Duncan. The executors of his testament who settled the debt were Alexander Duff, a Tarnów burgess, as well as Peter Orem and William Henderson, assisted by Albert Kin, John Heide and John Forbes, Cracow merchants.⁵³ At least some of them were elders in the brotherhood. They could also have been among those who satisfied the demands of the widow and son of Albert Krupka, who had been murdered by Albert Jamson in 1615. Compensation was paid at the Cracow Council on his behalf by Thomas Roberth, Andrew Hunter, both Cracow burgesses, as well as by Daniel Forbes and James Jones, who had come from Zamość.⁵⁴

The Scots brotherhoods were, in fact, autonomous, self-governing bodies within the diaspora, their elders appearing at courts as guarantors of their countrymen's proper conduct.⁵⁵ These were, however,

⁵¹ AmKr, Consularia, MS 454, 149–150.

⁵² "Item recognovit posteaque negotium habeat cum Ioanne Mora ex parte Ioannis Michel, Scoti occasione non exiguae summæ peccuniæ, quæ ultra fl. 100 sesse excedit. Ideo negotium hoc totum per seniores Scotos decidendum submisit, quidquid illi decreverint admunerintque se contentum esse velle asservit. Super quo etiam Ioannes Mora ibidem personaliter stans, ultro benivoleque consensit et acquievit"; AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 22, 931–932.

⁵³ AmKr, Consularia, MS 457, 53–54.

⁵⁴ AmKr, Consularia, MS 458, 370. Zamość was a private town in the Rus' palatinate, in eastern Poland. See also Węgierski, *Kronika zboru*, 120.

⁵⁵ The brotherhoods may have played similar roles to those of the Jewish self-government on which J. Goldberg, "Gminy żydowskie (kahaly) w systemie władztwa dominialnego w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej," in M. Drozdowski, ed., *Miedzy historià a teorià* (Warsaw-Poznań: 1988), 152–171; his "The Jewish Sejm: Its Origins and Functions," in A. Polonsky et al., eds., *The Jews in Old Poland, 1000–1975* (London-New York: 1993), 147–165; cf. Catterall, "At Home Abroad," 351.

private testimonies made in accordance with contemporary trial procedure. Thus, although the aforementioned cases undoubtedly testify to the communal responsibility of the Scots, no brotherhoods are mentioned nor are the witnesses named as their leaders. Their high local social position seems unquestionable, considering the circumstances of their contacts with the Cracow Council and the Bench. Moreover, they appeared not only as guarantors of “proper birth”, to a legally wed couple or as testament executors: Albert Kin and Alexander Dixon verified the validity of “birthbrieves” that were issued in Scotland and presented to the Council.⁵⁶

Merchants’ solidarity was evinced at the customs house as well. On 8 August 1628, William Peterson and Gasper Jenisz (Jennies), Cracow burgesses, promised to pay the city tax for George Petri, a Tarnów burgess. On 29 August 1630, Thomas Forbes confirmed the tax declaration from Peterson and William Torri.⁵⁷

Language, religion and nationality

Language use is an important means to learn about one’s ethnic identity and social integration. However, the matter is extremely hard to delve into because there is only sparse evidence to show which languages were used on particular occasions. As a rule, it is impossible to determine the duration of a given individual’s stay in a Polish environment.

Seldom do the available sources prove that the Scots tongue was used. There are the testaments of Peter Lindze (Lindsey) of 1603⁵⁸ and Patrick Orem’s (1609),⁵⁹ as well as the contract signed on 14 December 1602 between Andrew Johnston and George Sterlinge, Cracow burgesses.⁶⁰ Other last wills of the local Scots were documented in the form of Latin accounts, while the pre-mortem wills of George Emzle (1627), Gasper Kin, apothecary (1635), Thomas Forbes (1642), Albert Dixon, goldsmith (1652) and of his cousin Albert Dixon (1653) were

⁵⁶ AmKr, Consularia, MS 458, 78–79.

⁵⁷ AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, 959; MS 460, 139.

⁵⁸ AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 28, 785–788.

⁵⁹ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 927, fols. 2r.–3v.

⁶⁰ AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 28, 746–748.

dictated in Polish by them.⁶¹ Both ways of inserting testaments, that is, the exact quotation of testators' first-person-told stories as well as third-person accounts, are common in the Bench books of those years. Generally, testaments in languages other than Latin or Polish are numerous, with the German language predominating.⁶²

Some of the testimonies confirming one's legal birth also suggest that Polish was used occasionally. The Latin formulas are supplemented with personal descriptions of events the Scots participated in and are quoted in Polish, there being no remarks to suggest that their statements were rendered from Scots. Another piece of evidence that Polish was used on such formal occasions is the act of division of Elizabeth Dixon Leber's movable properties between the members of her family in Scotland and in Poland (1595). The act was written down in Polish, and the witnesses were John Mora and John Forbes, Cracow burgesses. They may have served as translators to Thomas Dixon, who had arrived from Edinburgh.⁶³ Inscriptions in Polish also document the 1605 conflict over the value of Anna Romelman's dowry. This documentation includes a Polish testimony of Patrick Orem, whose last will, as we already know, was written down in Scots. During the trial, Anna, the aforementioned daughter of Albert Kin and widow of Leonard King and James Romelman, questioned the credibility of a witness to the financial negotiations at her marriage reception, telling

⁶¹ AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 22, 930–932; MS 29, 760–763, 883–884; MS 35, 1013–1017, 1254–1261; MS 37, 587–589; MS 38, 765–768, 851–852.

⁶² The German share in the life of medieval and early modern Cracow has been discussed by K. Friedrich, "Nationale Identität und Pluralität in Krakau und Prag im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Berichte und Beiträge des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e.V.* (Leipzig: 1999), 60–79; her "Cives Cracoviæ: Bürgertum im frühneuzeitlichen Krakau zwischen Stadtpatriotismus und nationaler Pluralität" in M. Dmitrieva & K. Lambrecht, eds., *Krakau, Prag und Wien. Funktionen von Metropolen im frühmodernen Staat* (Stuttgart, 2000), 143–161; H. Samsonowicz, "Gesellschaftliche Pluralität und Interaktion in Krakau," in *Krakau, Prag und Wien*, 117–130; L. Belzyt, "Ludność niemiecka w Krakowie na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku," in J. Wijaczka, ed., *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Kielce: 2002), 89–102; Z. Noga, "Zróżnicowanie etniczne i wyznaniowe mieszczaństwa krakowskiego w XVI wieku," in K. Mikulski & A. Zielińska-Nowicka, eds., *Miedzy Zachodem a Wschodem. Etniczne, kulturowe i religijne pogranicza Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Toruń: 2006), 121–128.

⁶³ AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 26, 257–260.

the councillors: “He was a Babylonian and did not understand the language, and Polish was spoken there.”⁶⁴

Thus, one may assume that, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the elite of the Scottish Cracow community at least used not only their native tongue, but were also fluent in Polish and, most probably, German; it would be hard to imagine their intensive commercial relations with Breslau, Leipzig and Nurnberg otherwise.⁶⁵ It is also worth citing from Patrick Gordon, the famous mercenary and diarist, who travelled across the Sandomierz palatinate in 1660. While he was approaching Skrzynno, a peripheral township, two Scots, dressed and armed like Polish gentlemen, came from the opposite direction. After an exchange of greetings, the Scots praised Gordon’s fluency in Polish. The speculation that all of them could have had their conversation in that language seems explicable only by assuming that Gaelic was the native tongue of those two Scots.⁶⁶

The Cracow city authorities’ minutes show that the description “Scotus” commonly followed surnames down to the 1630s. During that decade, however, this practice vanished. The generations of patriciates born in Cracow were the first category of Scots whose ethnicity was not indicated. A council scrivener’s testimony of 1624 states: “I know well Mr Thomas Dixon, a Scot by birth”, even though, since Thomas Dixon had been born to Cracow citizens,⁶⁷ the process of assimilation was well under way. Moreover, in 1651, Alexander Dixon was summoned to pay the tithe for Charles II Stuart, although—as he stated to the councillors—he had been a son of Cracow burgesses that had been participating in corporate life there for fifty-seven years.⁶⁸ Dixon must have been a highly respected and trusted part of the Cracow community because both before and after 1651 he was very often elected to audit the incomes from city taxes and duties. In 1649 and in 1650 he

⁶⁴ AmKr, Consularia, MS 456, 808–813, 850–851. It seems that Isaiah, 39.3 explains the aforementioned comparison.

⁶⁵ A.J. Gurevich, “The Merchant,” in J. Le Goff, ed., *Medieval Callings* (Chicago: 1990), 266 points to the importance of German as the *lingua franca* of the then merchants.

⁶⁶ W. Kowalski, “Patrick Gordon z Auchleuchries i jego ogląd staropolskiego świata,” in F. Wolański, ed., *Staropolski ogląd świata—problem inności* (Toruń: 2007), 93–94. Cf. R. Bartlett, “Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31.1 (2001), 47–50, 53.

⁶⁷ AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, 350.

⁶⁸ Tomkowicz, “Przyczynek,” 169. The problems of the Scottish diaspora’s assimilation have been extensively discussed by Murdoch, *Network North*, 52–62.

held the office of city treasurer (*Iohner*), thus providing an exception, since the Scots did not usually hold city offices or receive a calling to the council.⁶⁹

Calvinism was another unavoidable obstacle in seventeenth century Cracow, to the extent that some of the Scots there declared themselves Catholic. However, the Evangelical creed could have been a feature that distinguished the Scots from other ethnicities in the agglomeration because, as we read in Andrew Dunken's last will in 1606, he left a legacy "pauperibus religionis suæ, utpote Scoticæ".⁷⁰ No sources suggest that the Little Poland Scots attended their own churches or had their own clergy. Contrary to that, records from various times and places show that they participated in the services of local Reformed congregations. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Protestants were still visible in the everyday life of Polish society.⁷¹

Conclusion

The Cracow Scots were a cohesive group that maintained strong professional and family networks. These networks reached and connected with other communities in that part of the diaspora which spread across Poland-Lithuania. Although not much can be said about the Cracow Scots' contacts with other ethnicities, it seems that they were rather formal. Such ties show, however, that progression towards integration and assimilation varied with regard to particular families, the process being most advanced in the cases of the Dixons and the Kins (Kings). Further studies of the Scots' genealogies may allow for a better understanding of the inner workings of this. Contacts with people other than their countrymen were forced by urban and religious aspects of corporation life as well as by economic realities. Moreover, integration must have been fostered by limited matrimonial choice, as it seems that male immigrants predominated.

⁶⁹ AmKr, Regestra thelonei, MSs 2163 & 2164, passim; A. Grabowski, *Starożytne wiadomości o Krakowie* (Cracow: 1852), 101, 124, Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanstwo krakowskie*, 155–172.

⁷⁰ AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 26, 883.

⁷¹ See Kowalski, "Urbanised Scots," 75–80; his "Robert Spens," 414–415; his "From the 'Land of Diverse Sects' to National Religion: Converts to Catholicism and Reformed Franciscans in Early Modern Poland," *Church History* 70.3 (2001): 482–526.

Professional, mainly mercantile activity, ethnic, language and religious identity networked Scots all over the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and beyond.⁷² Their successful dealings must have gained some of them high-profile positions within the ethnic group, which was relatively affluent. This helped to maintain the religious exclusiveness of the Cracow Scots and resulted in their slower integration, even in those cases where it might have occurred most quickly, that is, in small-town communities, such as Szydłowiec in northern Little Poland.⁷³ Providing further context, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Cracow Germans not only integrated smoothly with the Polish majority, but as a rule fully assimilated.⁷⁴ The Cracow Italians were also well integrated, but unlike the Germans, perceived as a separate ethnic group even into the mid-seventeenth century.⁷⁵ Thus, ethnicity, religion and occupation composed the fundamental social criteria that organised the life of a medieval and early modern central European city, with respect to which Cracow and its Scottish burgesses provide a prime example.

⁷² More on that see Murdoch, *Network North*, passim; Catterall, "At home," 337–353.

⁷³ F. Kiryk, "Przyczynki do dziejów Szydłowca w pierwszej połowie XVII stulecia," in C. Kulko & P. Guzowski, eds., *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi... Studia z historii społecznej ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyczańskiemu w 80-tą rocznicę urodzin i 55-lecie pracy naukowej* (Białystok: 2004), 241–254.

⁷⁴ See the works by Belzyt, Friedrich and Noga listed in footnote 62.

⁷⁵ Grabowski, *Starożytnicze wiadomości*, 98; Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanstwo*, 32–39; c.f. W. Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI-XVII wieku. Utracona szansa na modernizację* (Warsaw: 2005), 353–381 and passim.

FORTRESS ROTTERDAM? ROTTERDAM'S SCOTS COMMUNITY AND THE COVENANTER CAUSE, 1638–1688

Douglas Catterall*

Although, in the coming pages, this chapter will traverse much of the seventeenth-century history of Rotterdam's Scots community, I would like to begin *in medias res*. In the pages of volume five of the *kerkeradsnotulen* of Rotterdam's Dutch Reformed Church devoted to 1663, we find three entries concerning George Petrie, apothecary, spanning a period from early February to late September. Petrie was requesting to be allowed admission to the Dutch Reformed Church and to leave the Scots Church of Rotterdam, by then a core institution of Rotterdam's Scots community.¹ Interestingly, he was the son of the Scots Church of Rotterdam's first minister, Alexander Petrie. Thus, to find Petrie, at one time actively involved in that church, joining the Dutch Reformed Church is striking.² Nor had he left the Scots environs of Rotterdam. The records of the *klein familiegeld*, a tax applied to householders in Rotterdam in 1674, place Petrie's address on the *Leuvehaven*, a locale closely tied to the seventeenth-century Scots community.³ A number of notarial acts attest to his continuing involvement in business and social affairs in Rotterdam.⁴ And he appears again in the session book

*¹ I would like to thank the organisers and participants in the "Emigrants and exiles from the Three Kingdoms in Europe, 1603–1688" Conference at the University of Aberdeen for the opportunity to discuss this work as well as the American Scandinavian Foundation and the Regents of the University of Oklahoma, Cameron University, and Rogers State University for the research leave that made my participation in the conference possible. Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Rotterdam (hereafter GAR)/Nederlands Hervormde Gemeente (hereafter NHG)/5/2/2/1663, 9/9/1663, 9/24/1663; GAR/Scots Church of Rotterdam Archive (hereafter SCA)/2/2–24–1678.

² He is noted as assisting with poor relief in the mid-1650s: GAR/SCA/1/1–15–1655.

³ Table on the *klein familiegeld* made available to me by Prof. dr. Paul van de Laar of the Erasmus Universiteit and Dr. Arie van der Schoor of the Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Rotterdam. I thank them for sharing this data with me. On the location of Scots Rotterdam and its cohesion see Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), 30–41, 95–115, 125–126, 195–202.

⁴ I have identified ten acts associated with him in my database R'damintermediaireIII.

of the Scots Church of Rotterdam in 1678, defending his sister Isobel against the charges of the elder James Thomson in a scandal involving Thomson's alleged pilfering from the poor box in his house to buy his wife a "silken gown."⁵ Isobel Petrie, who told the coster to "let ye Session stay till kingdome come to them" when summoned to appear before them, seems not to have needed her brother's help. But Petrie's departure from the congregation begs the question as to why he took this step?

The reason is simply stated even if its explanation is less so. When Petrie asked for his demission in 1663 he sensed a change in the atmosphere within Scots Rotterdam brought about by the Scots exiles coming to the city on the *Maas* in the wake of the Stuart Restoration. The consistory of Rotterdam's Dutch Reformed Church could also sense this shift in Scots Rotterdam's cultural landscape as they clearly hesitated in taking Petrie and thereby angering their Scots co-religionists. It took fully seven and a half months for the Dutch Reformed Church to verify Petrie's demission, confirm that the new minister of the Scots congregation, John Hog, was comfortable in letting Petrie go, and then finally grant him admission to the Dutch Reformed Church. Petrie's case and other information I will relate in this chapter suggests that there were at least two Scots Rotterdams, one for the exiles and one for "Dutch" Scots.

Far from being a proverbial Calvinist city on a hill whose main purpose rested in resistance to what post-1660 Covenanters viewed as Stuart tyranny, Rotterdam's Scots community was both more and less than this. In the sense that the city's community of Scots represented a multiplicity of interests that were religiously heterodox and displayed some political and economic breadth, it displayed a greater variety than the interests of those whose main or even sole focus centred on a triumphant return to a Presbyterian Scotland. In the sense that these interests did not necessarily coalesce in a focused manner around a single, ideologically defined purpose, one could see Scots Rotterdam as less effective at generating social capital than a more tightly organised ethnic enclave might have been. Instead, Scots Rotterdam consisted of a loose agglomeration of social groups that shared institutions, cultural practices, and, broadly speaking, origins of place, but did not

⁵ GAR/SCA/2/2-17-1678, 2-24-1678.

consistently operate in the vein of the classic powerful ethnic enclaves in and beyond Europe despite its many similarities to them.⁶

This vision of multiple worlds in the already small group of Scots living in Rotterdam is not one that has been prominent in the extant literature on Scots Rotterdam. The most recent work on Scots Rotterdam is Ginny Gardner's salutary, prosopographically-based work on Scots Calvinist exiles such as John Livingston who decamped from Scotland in the wake of the House of Stuart's return to power in 1660 and the subsequent changes to Scotland's religio-political settlement. Since Gardner's aim is to highlight the very important role played by prominent religious and political exiles in events back home in Scotland, however, she is less concerned with the world of "Dutch" Scots.⁷ More foundational works on Scots Rotterdam such as Keith Sprunger's monograph *Dutch Puritanism* or Rab Houston's several articles tend to portray Scots Rotterdam both in its genesis and in its later-seventeenth-century incarnations as having presented to the world a face of implacable Calvinist fortitude disturbed only by intrigues on the part of the British state (something that Ginny Gardner also does an admirable job of exploring) or grudgingly obligatory compromises with Dutch culture.⁸ The most recent microhistory of the community too tends to think in terms of just two Scots Rotterdams, those who "went Dutch" and the more ardently Calvinist exiles.⁹

⁶ The Jewish enclave of nearby Amsterdam and the Armenian enclave in New Julfa were both communities of this sort. On these see *inter alia* Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997); David Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000) and Bhaswati Bhattacharya, "Making money at the blessed place of Manila: Armenians in the Madras-Manila trade in the eighteenth century," *Journal of Global History* 3 (2008): 1–20; Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India, 1530–1750* (Atlanta, GA: Scholar Press, 1999).

⁷ Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690* (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2004).

⁸ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 129–154. Of the various articles Houston has devoted to the Scots Church and community in Rotterdam the crucial one is Rab Houston, "The Consistory of the Scots Church, Rotterdam: An Aspect of 'Civic Calvinism', c. 1600–1800," *Archive for Reformation History* 87 (1996): 362–392. For Sprunger see especially: Keith Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden: Brill, (1982), 175–180.

⁹ Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 233–293.

The historical reality of the Scots community in Rotterdam, however, requires that we look beyond the religiously-tinged causes historians have associated with confessional politics and even beyond the institutional view of the community to take full account of its ties and exposure to the flux, flotsam, and jetsam of the maritime world and the history of its host city, Rotterdam. As it turns out, the community that eventually acquired the name of the Scots nation in Rotterdam had begun to root itself in the Dutch Republic's second port long before the Scots Church of Rotterdam, founded in 1642/1643, or Scotland's divisive seventeenth-century religious politics could take hold.¹⁰ True, we can find the imprint of confessional politics in the community's early history in the 1570s when Scots military migrants desiring to participate in the Dutch Revolt began to flow through the port.¹¹ Moreover, much like other parts of northern Europe, the Republic was home to British Calvinist churches, including some experiments in Rotterdam in the second decade of the seventeenth century.¹² But Rotterdam's Scots community did not really take off until the arrival in numbers of Scots sailors and skippers as well as a few tradesmen whose interest was not uniformly tied up in confessionally-driven conflict per se, but rather in the rise of Rotterdam as a port. Rotterdam's

¹⁰ For a discussion of the history of the term Scots nation and its meaning for the Rotterdam Scots enclave see Douglas Catterall, "Scots and Portuguese Migrants in the United Provinces (16th–17th centuries)," in *Religious Refugees in Europe, Asia and North America (6th–21st century)*, edited by Susanne Lachenicht (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 2007), 70–73.

¹¹ Joachim Miggelbrink, "The End of the Scots-Dutch Brigade," *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience, 1550–1900*, edited by Steve Murdoch and Andrew MacKillop (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 84; Hugh Dunthorne, "Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572–1648," in *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124–1994*, edited by Grant Simpson (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 104–107, 108–114; Matthew Glozier, "Scots in the French and Dutch Armies During the Thirty Years' War," in *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648*, edited by Steve Murdoch (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 125–128, 130–137; Johannes MacLean, *De huwelijksintekeningen an schotse militairen in Nederland, 1574–1665* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1976), 226–253, with clear mentions of military migrants to Rotterdam starting in the 1580s; *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572–1782*, edited by James Ferguson, vol. I, 1572–1697 (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Consable for the Scottish History Society, 1899), *passim*.

¹² Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 162–163, 175; idem, *The Learned Doctor William Ames: Dutch Backgrounds of American and Dutch Puritanism* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 215–218; Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 107–108.

genesis as a major port began in the 1590s and came to fruition in the second decade of the seventeenth century with the completion of the newly constructed southwest harbour district and in particular on the *Schiedamse dijk*, popularly known as the Scots dike, in the first decades of the seventeenth century. To the extent that one can point to a dominant actuating force here, it arguably lies beyond the shores of Scotland in the form of the Low Countries and later the Dutch Republic's rise as a manufacturing and maritime economic region and its voracious appetite for migrant labour (to include military labour). Chronologically speaking, it exists far beyond the memory of the historical actors whose choices we will examine here in the High Middle Ages when Scots first began arriving in the Low Countries.¹³ The traces of this union of economic forces and migrant choices from an earlier period becomes apparent when one looks at the composition of the Scots community in the 1630s, when it reached the critical demographic mass necessary to institutionalise.

Evidence of Scots Rotterdam's demographic maturity was thick on the ground by the early 1630s. According to the *Gemeentearchief*, Rotterdam's online notarial calendar, no fewer than 364 notarial acts involving Scots in one way or another were drawn up between the start of 1630 and the end of 1635. This works out, at a minimum, to an annual average of just over sixty acts per year. A deeper analysis of the first three years of these acts (201 in total) yields a total of 269 different individuals, a figure approaching the number of Scots mentioned inhabiting Rotterdam some ten years later.¹⁴ Even if we

¹³ Hans Bonke, *De kleyne mast van de Hollandse coopsteden: Stadsontwikkeling in Rotterdam 1572–1795* (Amsterdam: Stichting Amsterdamse Historische Reeks, 1996), 34–67; Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 30–41, 95–115, 125–126, 195–202; David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560* (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell, 2000), *passim*; Jan Lucassen, "Labour and early modern economic development," in *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*, edited by Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 367–409; Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in Aanwas: Geschiedenis van Rotterdam tot 1813* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999), 55–56, 71–79, 168, 176–184, 209; David Stevenson, "Trade with the South, 1070–1513," in *The Scottish Medieval Town*, edited by Michael Lynch, Geoffrey Spearman, and Michael Spearman (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1988), 161–179; *idem*, "Medieval Scottish Associations in Bruges," in *Freedom and Authority, Scotland c. 1050–c. 1650*, edited by Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 93–107.

¹⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, data on the composition and size of Rotterdam's Scots population during the 1630s in this and four subsequent paragraphs are taken

discount this number by 50% on the assumption that as many as that were transient residents of the city, we still arrive at a figure of almost 135 Scots, an underestimate as women are more in the minority in this group of individuals than they would have been in the actual population. A figure of between 150 and 270 means that we have evidence of a substantial percentage of the community being present who would later appear in the nearest thing we have to a census of the community at the time of its institutionalisation through the Scots Church of Rotterdam's 1642/43 founding: local church authorities estimated that it numbered between 300 and 400 souls.¹⁵ In short, the numerical base of Scots Rotterdam precedes any possible Covenanter-inspired out-migration, though admittedly some of the Scots present c. 1630–1635 might have chosen to leave Scotland during Charles I's personal rule.

Nevertheless, given the presence of military migrants in the city since the 1570s, one might expect that a substantial percentage of those in the notarial records were there to fight in the armed forces of the Republic, thereby bringing a more thorough-going confessional narrative into play. The records, however, hold some surprises in that regard. First, despite the claims of some that soldiers and officers were noticeably present on the ground in Rotterdam (albeit nothing approaching what one found in Utrecht), evidence for them in the notarial sample is meagre.¹⁶

Then too, Scots Rotterdam's leadership does not seem to have had a strongly military character. In a military-dominated community we would expect to see those officers appearing before the notaries of the city later taking up important roles in the Scots Church of Rotterdam. But among the cohort of Scots who would take leadership roles in the community and that appear in the notarial records, it is primarily tradesmen and merchants who crop up. Among them were Andrew Delap (Dunlop, merchant), William Muir (tradesman/soldier), and John Eson (tradesman), all of whom also appear in the rolls of the Scots Church as sessioners or prominent congregants. A few years later,

from the online calendar of the Gemeentearchief Rotterdam's Oud Notarieel Archief, which can be found at <http://www.gemeentearchief.rotterdam.nl/>. I searched the database using the keyword *schot%* for the following years: 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, and 1635. For the deep analysis of the years 1630, 1631, and 1632, I entered the data into a purpose-built relational database entitled: *R'damIntermediairel* which also includes data from transcriptions of notarial registers not available in the online calendar.

¹⁵ GAR/Classis Schieland/5, 10–24–1642.

¹⁶ Glozier, "Scots in the French and Dutch Armies," 134.

1637, Mathew Paton (merchant) appears, and in 1640 we have an act involving Robert Forgun (merchant) whose brother John Forgun (military/merchant) had been in Rotterdam since at least 1622.¹⁷ Between them, these men supplied a substantial portion of the leadership in the Scots Church of Rotterdam, which is partly credited with giving the city its image as a Covenanter bastion.¹⁸ This is not to say that such men could not partake in politics. Mathew Paton, for one, sold wool in exchange for 200 pistols on February 27, 1646—i.e. in the midst of hostilities in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms—that one can realistically expect to have been taken back to Scotland.¹⁹ The point is rather that the community's emerging leadership profile does not appear to have displayed military, but instead mercantile traits. To the extent that men like Paton chose to participate in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms it would have been one among several interests they had.

Important economic patterns and institutions had also been established by the 1630s, which complicate the portrayal of Scots Rotterdam as a community whose members were chiefly animated by confessionally-defined goals. Most striking of these patterns is the predominance in Scots Rotterdam of proletarian, mostly maritime, labourers with some leavening in the form of merchants, craftsmen, skilled mariners and skippers and a modest if important presence of army officers and soldiers. Among the population sample analysed the percentages were as follows: mariners 39.8% (107), those offering shelter to sailors 10.8% (twenty-nine, known as *slaapvrouwen* or *slaapbazen*), soldiers 7.4% (twenty), army officers 6% (sixteen), merchants 5.2% (fourteen), artisans and professionals 3.7% (ten), skippers 2.6% (seven), naval officers 2.2% (six), and labourers and servants 2.2% (six) with some 20.1% (fifty-four) remaining unidentified. Even if we assume that some of the maritime labour in question was temporary due to the wartime needs of the Admiralty on the Maas, the predominance of Scots migrants with known involvement in the maritime world (just under 60%) is clear. Next, on the basis of the analysis of these individuals' professional activities, it is clear that the Scots community had decided to put down roots: there are Scots in municipal roles while a range of

¹⁷ GAR/ Oud Notarieel Archief Rotterdam (hereafter ONA)/97/381/5–19–1637; GAR/ONA/262/521/12–6–1640; Maclean, *De huwelijksintekeningen*, 245.

¹⁸ GAR/SCA/1; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 175–180; Houston, "The Consistory of the Scots Church, Rotterdam," 363–368.

¹⁹ GAR/ONA/438/12/2–27–1646.

professions and skilled trades are represented. Among municipal or official roles we have James Williams as a *makelaar* or municipal broker (a guild-regulated profession); Jaques de Schotsman who was a *dienaar van justitie* (an assistant to Rotterdam's sheriff and chief prosecutor, the *hoofdofficier van justitie*); five Scots skippers sailing for the Admiralty on the Maas, and six Scots, including the soldier and *slaapbaas* John Trotter, involved in procurement for the army. In his role as *slaapbaas*, Trotter was one of twenty-nine individuals (some of them as couples) I have found running hostelries for sailors, who provided a clear infrastructure for new migrants coming to the city. Lastly, the variety of trades and skills represented suggests a community that had taken root: fourteen merchants, two surgeons, a glovemaker, a souter, a cooper, and, potentially, several butchers.

To be fair, it is crucial to observe that a full ninety-six of the common mariners who went before a notary in Rotterdam between 1630 and 1632 had been or would be working for the Admiralty of the Maas, meaning that they were all nominally military migrants. What is important to observe here, though, is that maritime labour was rather fungible, i.e. a sailor on a merchantman could easily sail for the Admiralty and vice versa.²⁰ Secondly, the Admiralty on the Maas was one of the city's major employers, so that many Scots would have worked for it regardless of any confessional or even political commitment they might have had.²¹ Finally, the existence of a dedicated network of lodging houses for mariners bespeaks a permanent social infrastructure dedicated to providing for a maritime community that had put down roots and was likely to have been sustained by profits from trade as well as military employment.

Taken as whole then, it is now possible to make the following observations about the founding of Scots Rotterdam. First, the community

²⁰ This becomes apparent in the notarial material in which sailors move from working for the Admiralty on the Maas to working for merchantmen and vice versa.

²¹ The Admiralty of the Maas was the second most important admiralty after Amsterdam's and, as was typical of the Dutch admiralties, a very active and powerful actor in the market for maritime labour in part because the Dutch naval authorities often relied on the private merchant-marine's men and ships. Nicholas Rodgers, *Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649–1815* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 9; Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 329–333; Jaap R. Bruijn, "States and Their Navies from the Late Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *War and Competition between States: 13th to 18th Centuries*, edited by Philippe Contamine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 79–80.

had fully established, if not institutionalised itself by the early 1630s and its leadership's main concerns would have been in trade and the maritime pursuits that supported trade. Consequently, from the standpoint of chronology, Scots Rotterdam preceded the Calvinist political agenda encompassed by the National Covenant of 1638. The Covenant and its agenda had not brought those who founded Scots Rotterdam to their adopted home in the first place, even if there can be little doubt that there were those among this group who would support that agenda's aims in whole or in part. If there were religious or political reasons for some of these newcomers being in Rotterdam, they would have been more generally focused on support for the Protestant cause; this is clear enough from the support the Scots community was giving to the Dutch fight for independence.²² Support for the Dutch cause, however, was not necessarily underwritten by a motivation rooted in a Scots religio-political perspective considering the overwhelming numbers of Scots Rotterdammers who joined the Dutch Reformed Church or the various experimental English churches in the city in the 1630s. None of the English congregations in question would have received the Covenanter seal of approval and, as events would prove, Dutch Calvinism was hardly the same as Scots Calvinism.²³ If anything, there was enthusiasm among Scots in Rotterdam for the relatively unfettered religious worship available in the city on the Maas, which stood at odds with the Covenanter perspective and its putative predecessors.²⁴ Consequently, those who would later subscribe to and try to promote the agenda of the Covenant would have some persuading to do.

²² Glozier, "Scots in the French and Dutch Armies"; Dunthorne, "Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries." That not all Scots sailors served willingly is also clear though presumably the existence of a Scots community in Rotterdam indicates that many in the notarial sample did. On the forceable recruitment of British sailors including Scots see Andrew R. Little, "British Seamen in the United Provinces during the seventeenth century Anglo-Dutch Wars: the Dutch navy—a preliminary survey," in *Trade, Diplomacy, and Exchange: Continuity and change in the North Sea area and the Baltic, c. 1350–1750*, edited by Hanno Brand (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), 75–92.

²³ Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 164–180; GAR/SCA/1; Maclean, *De huwelijksintekeningen*, 226–257.

²⁴ See Siobhan Talbott's contribution to this volume regarding the tendency among historians to back-project the Covenanter agenda into sixteenth-century Scots religious discourses. The last word on Rotterdam's seventeenth-century religious experimentation and social life is Jori Zijlmans, *Vriendenkringen in de zeventiende eeuw: Verenigingsvormen van het informele culturele leven te Rotterdam* (Den Haag: Sdu, 1999); On Scots Rotterdammers' embrace of the Rotterdam's pluriform religious culture, see Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 238–253.

Nevertheless, things looked promising for Scots Rotterdamers of a Covenanter cast of mind when the Scots Church of Rotterdam began its life as a congregation in August of 1643. The Wars of the Three Kingdoms had supplied the kind of environment in Scotland and in Scots settlements abroad that was tailor-made for generating strong religio-political allegiances, refugees/exiles, and evangelising true-believers like the congregation's first minister, Alexander Petrie.²⁵ Petrie, along with those of the Scots Church of Rotterdam's consistory who were willing, did manage to promote Covenanter ideals up to a point, but failed spectacularly in imposing a Covenanter agenda. The outcome of this slow-motion train crash was a series of very public conflicts not over the higher goals of the Covenant, but over whether Calvinist theology and church discipline would be the order of the day, which, in the end, they were not. We can see the anatomy of the session's failure by looking at a few statistics. First, the number of appearances before the session relating to its control of members' behaviour averaged just over six per year when Alexander Petrie was minister, with a drastic decline after 1652 given that the average from 1643 to 1652 was twelve appearances annually and thereafter about one and a half. The average after Petrie's replacement in 1662 (and not long before his son George Petrie's demission) was only four per year. The number of confessional hearings related to wrongdoing, another way of viewing the session's disciplinary activity, shows a similar decline, from 5.6 to 2.2. Finally, voluntary use of the session for dispute resolution over the period shows a decline over time, with an average of 6.6 appearances prior to 1662 and less than one a year thereafter.²⁶

But numbers can be dry so I would like to introduce the cases of John Baird, who had apparent Anabaptist leanings, and Robert Nesmyth, a troublesome parishioner, to underscore some of the issues at stake.²⁷ Nesmyth's case highlights how Scots Rotterdamers thought

²⁵ Murdoch, *Network North*, 88–114.

²⁶ All statistics come from the database SchotseKerkR'dam, which is based on GAR/SCA/1–2.

²⁷ As I will discuss below, it may actually have been the case that Baird's apparent Anabaptism was evidence that he and others like him in Rotterdam's Scots community were actually partial to the thinking of Dutch Libertinism, which had flourished most intensively in late-16th-century Utrecht and continued to be a force on the Dutch landscape in the seventeenth century. Ben Kaplan has suggested that a strong strain of spiritualism, which denied the necessity of particular rituals for salvation, typified Libertinism and this would naturally have included some who might eas-

about the session's authority, while Baird's shows how they conceived of religion. Together the two cases provide a glimpse of the mindset of Scots in Rotterdam during the 1640s and 1650s, which is essential to a proper understanding of George Petrie's actions in the early 1660s.

Chronologically, this brief anatomy of discord within the Scots Church of Rotterdam must begin with Robert Nesmyth, whose troubles came to a head in 1644. Nesmyth, whose wife Lysbeth Jans was a member of the Dutch congregation, was a troublesome sort with a temper who got himself into a series of fisticuffs with neighbours and ultimately appears to have shown up at the door of the elder Mathew Paton, knife in hand, daring him "to come before the door with him."²⁸ Nesmyth's rather vocal wife had stood before the fishwives of Rotterdam and expounded to them an anti-Scots pamphlet of some stripe, adding further fuel to the fire. Because the Rotterdam Scots session was operating in the Netherlands it could not deal in a summary way with Nesmyth, but rather sent an attestation against him to Rotterdam's magistrates and called on the Dutch Reformed consistory for help.²⁹ Nesmyth for his part protested and politicked before both the Scots and the Dutch sessions. Interestingly, Robert Forgum, whom we have already met and who was now a member of the session, added a second deposition in which he stated he had not actually *seen* Nesmyth draw a knife against Paton, just that he had one in his hand; Forgum intended these intriguing verbal gymnastics to support his efforts to help the session charge Nesmyth while still keeping him on good terms with Nesmyth. Only the combined clout of John Durie, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie, the latter two being commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, the former then the minister of the Merchant Adventurers church, finally cowed Nesmyth.³⁰ In essence, the session lacked *ex officio* power because the

ily have been labelled Anabaptists, but who did not see themselves in that way. See Benjamin Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines Confession and Community in Utrecht 1578–1620* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 68–110; idem, "Remnants of the Papal Yoke": Apathy and Opposition in the Dutch Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 3 (Autumn, 1994): 661–669.

²⁸ GAR/SCA/1/4–22–1644, 4–29–1644, 7–29–1644.

²⁹ GAR/SCA/1/opening page, 7–29–1644; GAR/NHG/1/10–23–1642, 8–9–1643, 8–28–1643; GAR/Classis Schieland/5/10–14–1642, 6–20–1644.

³⁰ GAR/SCA/7–29–1644, 8–19–1644, 11–25–1644, 12–25–1645, 1–6–1645, 1–20–1645, 3–31–1645, 4–5–1645.

Dutch state did not grant this authority to churches.³¹ For their part, Scots Rotterdammers, having grown accustomed to the less confrontational consistorial justice of Rotterdam's Dutch Reformed Church or the more freewheeling world of the several English congregations that existed during the 1630s and 1640s, refused to accept the session's authority unquestioningly.³² Still, one could write off Nesmyth as a mere trouble-maker whose story says little about the attitudes of Scots Rotterdammers toward the Covenant or religion in general for that matter. The same cannot be said of John Baird.

If Nesmyth was something of an outsider, John Baird was the congregation's reader when his troubles began in July 1650 after he refused to baptize his child according to Calvinist practice and accused the minister of teaching false doctrine. The Dutch Reformed ministers Berkelius (who was a friend of Alexander Petrie's), Soestius, and Son, became involved in trying to mediate this conflict. From the perspective of Petrie and those parishioners supporting him, there were two problems. First, Baird needed to admit his errors in the way of doctrine.³³ Doctrinal mixing had been a problem in Petrie's view since the congregation's early days when many parishioners had warmly recommended to him the ideas of the Fifth Monarchy men.³⁴ More importantly Baird, and the substantial number of parishioners who supported him, needed to concede that the session's word was law and that its judgments deserved respect. On their side, Baird and his supporters desired, in part, that the minister treat them as equals, echoing Robert Nesmyth's refusal to accept the session as having authority over him.³⁵ In some ways, Alexander Petrie was forced to do this in that he had to agree to an act of peace with John Baird on January 20, 1651.³⁶

³¹ Roodenburg, *Onder censuur. De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578-1700* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990), 124-131.

³² Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 41, 238-263; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 162-180, 329-335, 464; idem, *The Learned Doctor William Ames*, 215-218; GAR/Classis Schieland/5, 10-24-1642, 8-10-1643; GAR/NHG/1, 8-26-1643.

³³ GAR/SCA/1/8-5-1650, 8-26-1650, 9-2-1650, 10-7-1650, 10-21-1650, 10-24-1650, 12-23-1650, 12-26-1650, 1-2-1651, 1-13-1651.

³⁴ Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 248-249.

³⁵ GAR/SCA/1/8-5-1650, 8-26-1650, 9-2-1650, 10-7-1650, 10-21-1650, 10-24-1650, 12-23-1650, 12-26-1650, 1-2-1651, 1-13-1651.

³⁶ GAR/SCA/1/1-20-1651.

But there was more to the opposition that Baird and his supporters had shown to Alexander Petrie. Although Petrie and the Dutch Reformed ministers accused Baird of Anabaptism, later developments demonstrated that he and his fellows were syncretists who desired to mix and match various aspects of Protestantism to arrive at an approach to worship that suited them best. Indeed, from a confessional standpoint, their ideas had much in common with Dutch Libertinism, with its emphasis on a non-dogmatic Protestantism that did not impose rituals and sacraments in an overbearing manner and allowed for a high degree of congregational participation in church governance.³⁷ This became apparent when Petrie found himself compelled to debate a congregationally-specific discipline for administering consistorial rulings with Baird and like-minded individuals. Baird and the others who requested the new discipline desired what they called a Christian discipline, which they distinguished from both the Scots and the Dutch Reformed practices of Calvinist discipline. Among other things, the new discipline put much greater power in the hands of the sessioners to the minister's detriment, including the ability to make changes in the governance of the church through a vote of the sessioners. In justifying the need for a new discipline, its promoters claimed that the congregation's reputation had fallen into ill repute because of its weak discipline under the Covenanter Petrie. Yet, although they claimed to be in favour of a strong church discipline, the ideas of Baird and his supporters, which aimed at less structure and ritual, resemble the thinking of Dutch Libertines more than anything else. Perhaps it is most accurate to portray these ideas as resulting from a practical triangulation between several Protestantisms represented in Rotterdam: Scots Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, Remonstrant, and Anabaptist.³⁸

What emerges from a reading of these conflicts is that Scots Rotterdam established itself not only economically and sociologically before the National Covenant, but also culturally as revealed in the distinctive religious proclivities of those who joined the Scots Church of Rotterdam. Conspicuously absent from the public rows within and between the session and various members of the Scots Church was any real dissension over the political aims and actions of the Covenanter

³⁷ Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, 68–110.

³⁸ GAR/SCA/1/2–16–1652, 3–15–1652, 5–10–1652, 5–20–1652, 5–31–1652, 8–21–1652, 8–30–1652, 9–6–1652.

regime, even in the 1650s when one might have expected tensions arising from the fall of the Covenanter regime to have provoked at least some discord in what was obviously a volatile faith community. The closest thing to such disputes was the legalistic approach characterising the twenty-one articles of the new discipline penned by Robert Forgun and supported by John Baird and others including some who may have been present in the 1630s such as William Muir, James Wright, and John Henderson. Had they been fully implemented, these twenty-one articles, even in their revised form, would have curtailed the interpretive role so central to the Covenanter (indeed the Calvinist) vision of how a minister should function.³⁹

With the dispute over these articles concluded, things seem to have quietened in Scots Rotterdam, but the Restoration brought a large influx of religio-political refugees that, as Ginny Gardner has made very clear in her work on the subject, included a number of very high profile ministers, some of whom such as Robert McWard, helped to run the congregation and a number of whom had leadership positions in the community.⁴⁰ They too seem to have made some initial attempts to follow in Alexander Petrie's footsteps, but as the statistics I laid out earlier suggest, their success was if anything more underwhelming and again the recalcitrance of Scots Rotterdammers was in evidence.

The earliest dispute over the newcomers' plans took place in the later 1660s, though the session books were not well-kept in the decade following Petrie's death in 1662 it needs to be said. According to the protesters' written jeremiad, it would appear that the newcomers, including the minister John Hog, had changed several things. They particularly objected that the exiled ministers, who were, in the petitioners' view "no members," were taking the pulpit and preaching sermons. But worse than this was the content of these preparation sermons which, "after manie protestationen clameren and shouldring adjuring and professing againes all those who com to the Lorden Teable upon any other termes then to mantine and adhear to that woufowll Leath and Covinant."⁴¹ In other words the Covenant's poli-

³⁹ GAR/SCA/1/2-16-1652, 3-15-1652, 5-10-1652, 5-20-1652, 5-31-1652, 8-21-1652, 8-30-1652, 12-13-1652; R'damIntermediaireI. Although the discipline the petitioners demanded did not receive acceptance, Petrie did acquiesce to one of their key demands, that the minister not keep the session book.

⁴⁰ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*.

⁴¹ GAR/SCA/2/12-25-1664.

tics, absent before, had become a centrepiece of worship for the exile community and not everyone was pleased. Striking here is that some of the same people who signed the petition against Petrie's attempts to implement Covenanter church government signed this protest, including two of three potential holdovers from the 1630s: William Muir and John Henderson.⁴²

A classic immigrant community conflict appeared to be in the making, but in the event it did not flare up immediately.⁴³ This was not because the exiles or their opponents gave up their views. For its part the exile community maintained a lively engagement with politics back home in Scotland on many fronts, the struggle pitting those ministers who had accepted the Stuart regime's indulgence and their supporters against those who had not and their supporters being exemplary.⁴⁴ The ministers Robert Fleming and Robert McWard, for example, participated in this debate, as did sessioners like James Thomson and Andrew Russell, with Thomson saying he could never countenance someone as minister who had accepted the indulgence of the Stuart regime.⁴⁵ Efforts were made to catechise and educate the congregation

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ On the genesis of migrant communities in northern Europe and the nature of disputes between newcomers and old hands see Douglas Catterall, "Settle or Return: Migrant Communities in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800," in *From the Middle Ages to Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World, a collection of essays in honor of James D. Tracy, Professor of History at the University of Minnesota*, edited by Jerry Bentley and Charles Henry Parker (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007): esp. 116–121.

⁴⁴ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 51–60; Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1991), 287–299. After the Restoration it became clear that Presbyterianism would have a hard time finding a place in a post-1660 Stuart Scotland. With the return of episcopacy to the Scots ecclesiastical landscape in 1662 also came the expulsion of as much as one-third of the Scots ministry. By the later 1660s and into the 1670s, however, the Stuart regime's representatives in Scotland were attempting, albeit inconsistently, to accommodate some Presbyterian ministers through so-called indulgences (in 1669, 1672, and 1679). These would allow beneficiaries to return to their original parishes or possibly to new parishes as Presbyterian ministers under certain conditions including, of course, the crucial ones that bishops would be running the Kirk and that the king was head of the church. Neither of these conditions was acceptable to many Presbyterians and thus those who did accept an indulgence could count on their opposition.

⁴⁵ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 51–60, 96–206; NAS/RH 15/106/617/8, James Thomson to Andrew Russell, March 10, 1687. It was the minister James Veitch, who had been proposed as a replacement for the minister John Hog, whose candidacy the elder James Thomson opposed. He demanded that Veitch publicly admit that he had erred in taking up a living under the auspices of the Stuart regime's 1669 indulgence.

as well, with the weight of this effort falling on the backs of the poor. Pensioners, for example, had to show up for regular catechising to receive their relief portions.⁴⁶ But the high-profile struggles *in the session* were not, for the most part, about interpreting Calvinism. And I think this was because the exiles dominated the session and did not often argue publicly amongst themselves. Nor did they try to discipline the congregation as a whole in the way that Alexander Petrie and his sessioners had.⁴⁷ It also seems clear that Scots Rotterdammers had withdrawn from the church in certain ways.⁴⁸ As noted above they did not bring their troubles to the session for mediation, but solved them on their own through the Dutch system. Some substantial members such as George Petrie, simply left the congregation altogether. Other high profile members stayed and adapted to the exile community, such as John Fleming whose father had been associated with Scots Rotterdam since the 1640s and who remained active in the Scots Church of Rotterdam long after the exiles had taken over.⁴⁹

But the dynamic established during the founding years of Scots Church of Rotterdam reasserted itself again with authority during the last major crisis in the congregation prior to 1689, which unfolded in the 1680s. The incident that inspired this conflict was rather mundane. The minister John Hog had apparently attempted to moderate a meeting of the session whilst in a state of drunkenness.⁵⁰ Initially feeling remorse for his actions, he offered to take leave while his case was resolved, but then thought better of it. His backtracking caused

⁴⁶ GAR/SCA/2/7–29–1676.

⁴⁷ Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 279–289; Houston, “The Consistory of the Scots Church, Rotterdam,” 371–378. The stance of the more ardent Calvinists on the session was akin to, albeit much less publicly aggressive than, that of proponents of the Further Reformation that was sweeping through Dutch Reformed churches in the Republic, which saw ministers like Gisbertus Voetius increasingly petitioning magistrates to promote moral reform and attempting to raise the standards of behavior among their congregants. For an overview of this, see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 690–699.

⁴⁸ Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 279–281.

⁴⁹ Reverend William Steven, M.A. *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam: To Which are Subjoined, Notices of the Other British Churches in the Netherlands and a Brief View of the Dutch Ecclesiastical Establishment* (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes; Dublin: W. Curry, Jun. & Co.; London: Whittaker & Co.; Rotterdam: Van der Meer & Verbruggen, 1833), 368; GAR/SCA/1/5–10–1652; GAR/SCA/2/3–31–1678, the latter showing Fleming active as a sessioner more than fifteen years after the death of Alexander Petrie.

⁵⁰ GAR/SCA/2/4–18–1687.

a fissure in Scots Rotterdam, pitting the pietist exile leadership and their supporters (Andrew Russell being chief among them) against a substantial portion of the congregation and even some no longer part of the congregation who had been somewhat unhappy, though silent for much of the time, with the exiles' control of the session's agenda. Well over 100 individuals either signed or pledged to support a petition to have John Hog reinstated and his reputation cleansed, claiming that Hog had been wrongly accused of drunkenness, this being apparently but a portion of a book of signatures that contained "hundereds" of names.⁵¹ What is most distinctive about their argument is again that, like the petitioners of earlier occasions, this time they explicitly claimed authority because they were old members with some claiming over five decades of residence in Rotterdam. Hog, earlier treated as the outsider, had been claimed as an insider.

So where does all of this leave the story of George Petrie with which I began? First, his case and the others discussed suggest there was an identity among those Scots who had lived in Rotterdam for some time and put down roots that we can provisionally call Scottish in the sense that these individuals clearly wanted to express their identity through a Scots institution, which they need not have done. Second, they wanted to express this identity on their own terms. The idea of fictive kinship captures this aspect of the bond these people shared. Longtime residence in the city and more particularly in Rotterdam's Scots community and its institutions literally related these people to one another. And since this bond linked Scots from different Scots communities back in Scotland who were not severing their ties to those communities, I think it is helpful to see this as at least a proto-ethnicity expressed through several corporate institutions or bonds, with the Scots Church of Rotterdam at the core. Conflicts with the exiles, then, which were about ties to the homeland, involved challenges to the terms on which people lived out their Scottishness and were perhaps inherent to many diasporas even if the particular conceptualisations of the homeland at stake in seventeenth-century Rotterdam were unique to Scots, of course.

Lest this chapter close having left the reader with the impression that Scots in seventeenth-century Rotterdam divided out into the exiles and evangelisers on the one hand and old hands more integrated

⁵¹ National Archives of Scotland/RH 15/106/822/28; GAR/SCA/2/4-18-1687.

into Dutch society on the other, let me suggest that we not underestimate the portability of community within the Scots diaspora. Not only people, goods, and ideas, but practices of relationship traversed between Scotland and the North Sea, the Baltic, and the European continent as a whole in the early modern period. This enabled, even encouraged, individuals and groups within the diaspora to retain a variety of interests simultaneously as a matter of course. The four historiographic faces of Andrew Russell—transnational merchant/entrepreneur, dependable Scots factor, staunch Presbyterian, and enclave leader—are a case in point.⁵² One might think that a man who was a merchant would be less likely to act as a factor, but the diaspora allowed for both. One could also fairly assume that an enclave leader would need to focus his attentions mainly on the time-consuming process of community-building. Russell did this in administering the Scottish Sailor's Box in Rotterdam, but he could rely on a practice common in Scotland to help him do so. Moreover, because the sailor's box drew from all comers and did not necessarily dispense monies to the godly as Russell would have understood that term, it contributed to a non-denominational sense of Scottishness even as Russell clearly aimed to promote his brand of Presbyterianism in Rotterdam and at home in Scotland. Many have written on Russell, of course, due to the large archival holdings preserved at the National Archives of Scotland, but he should not be seen as unique. The diversity or perhaps multiplicity defining the Scots community in Rotterdam ran sociologically deeper than its well-heeled, internationally connected elite. The practical adaptation of different faith traditions in which Scots Rotterdamers consistently participated also emerged in other Scots settlements abroad. Equally common in Scots enclaves was their tendency to attract a wide range of denizens from mariners and merchants to craftsmen, military migrants, and mind workers such as academics, translators, and teachers.⁵³ Even if mariners and merchants predominated in Rotterdam, the other groups were represented and their presence dictated a more

⁵² What follows is a synthesis of the work of several people on Russell: Catterall, *Community without Borders*; Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*; Murdoch, *Network North*; and T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union* (Edinburgh: Boyd, 1963), 99–115.

⁵³ See the essays in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

complex social structure.⁵⁴ Lastly, the practices of petitioning, protesting, and organising in Scots Rotterdam too were part of patterns elsewhere in the diaspora.⁵⁵ Thus, while it makes sense sometimes to style Scots enclaves as self-contained shelters from the storm or, alternatively, fortresses against unfriendly forces, perhaps it would be more useful to envision them more as merkat crosses attracting a variety of interests, sometimes competitive, sometimes cooperative.

⁵⁴ On craftsmen, military officers, and mariners see the analysis above. On interpreters see Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 198–199. On teachers, see GAR/SCA/2/12–26–1675, 1–9–1676 which mentions the hiring of John Ramsay as a schoolmaster.

⁵⁵ Douglas Catterall, “At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, no. 4 (2004): 319–357.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGES FOR THE IRISH IN THE KINGDOM OF CASTILE (1601–1680): MODERN MYTH OR CONTEMPORARY REALITY?

Ciaran O'Scea

Introduction

In a recent publication, the Irish historian, Declan Downey, taking up on the work of the early twentieth century Catholic nationalist scholar, John MacErlean, outlined how:

unique among the non-Spanish nationals resident in Spain during the period 1500 to 1900, the Irish noble, military, intellectual and mercantile elites enjoyed the same status and privileges of their Spanish counterparts... Within the Spanish Monarchy, Irish merchants were not subjected to the tariffs and taxes that were imposed on foreign traders; Irish people were permitted the same legal rights as Spaniards to purchase, own and sell properties. Irish students were admitted into the universities and noble academies and they were permitted to apply for bursaries and scholarships. Irish soldiers and officers were admitted into the armed forces.¹

The culmination of these rights, according to MacErlean, was a decree issued by King Carlos IV of Spain (1748–1819) in 1792, whereby the Irish were made “equal to the native Spaniards, and that from the mere fact of establishing themselves in Spain they are reputed as Spaniards and enjoyed the same legal rights”.² Over a hundred years earlier, an Irish military officer, seeking promotion to a position in the Spanish Indies, had outlined how he and his compatriots “enjoyed in these kingdoms the same prerogatives as Your Majesty’s vassals”, at least in

¹ Declan M. Downey, “Catholicism, Milesianism and Monarchism: The facilitators of Irish Identification with Habsburg Spain,” in *Extranjeros en el Ejército. Militares irlandeses en la sociedad española, 1580–1818*, ed., Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2007), 167; the only work on the privileges of the Irish in Spanish dominions is a short article by John MacErlean. He did not, however, provide his sources, which were clearly some of the same royal decrees which are cited below. John MacErlean, “Ireland and World Contact,” *Studies*, 8 (1919) 306–12.

² Cited in MacErlean, “Ireland and World Contact”, 299–311.

the military sphere.³ The initial basis of these privileges had been the royal decrees of 1680, 1701 and 1718 which gave the Irish the right to live, engage in commerce, sell goods, and hold property, on condition that they had lived for at least ten years in Spanish dominions or had married a Spaniard. On the other hand, they could not receive property via donation but only by legitimate purchase. Although considered as subjects of that crown, they had been treated as non-natives in all other respects.⁴ Nevertheless, these remained contested privileges, as in 1701, 1718 and again in 1759, various Irish individuals felt bound to appeal to the Spanish king to uphold their rights with respect to obtaining military, political, and commercial positions.⁵

So how did the Irish go from being one of the outcasts of Spanish society during the opening decades of the seventeenth century to being apparently co-nationals at the time of the French Revolution?⁶ Or is this a case of present-day historians projecting modern concerns about political rights, citizenship, and immigration into early-modern timeframes? This paper will attempt to answer both these questions by examining the background to the issuing of the first formalised privileges for long-term Irish residents in 1680. Before that, however,

³ Consulta of memorial of Arthur O'Brien, 16 April 1680, Estado (hereafter E), legajo (hereafter leg.) 4124, Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS).

⁴ The 1680 and 1718 decrees refer to Irish Catholics only whereas the 1701 decree was applicable to Irish and English Catholics, which was expanded to include Dutch Catholics in 1703. It has not been possible to locate the decree of 1680 but the later documentation makes repeated reference to it. *Novísima Recopilación de las leyes de España* (Madrid: 1805), fasc. ed., (Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1983), libro VI, título XI, ley 2; for examples of later references to the 1680 decree see consulta of memorial of Martín de Linane, 12 February 1761, Gracia y Justicia (hereafter GJ), leg. 873, AGS; cédula, 23 September 1718, Guerra y Marina, leg. 495, AGS; the Basque autor, Labayru y Goicoechea refers to a royal decree of 1674 ordering that Irish Catholics were to be admitted to all Spanish dominions and that they were to be treated "as if they were natives [as] they have been granted various privileges such as the right to occupy political and military positions and certain distinctions to those who wish to dedicate themselves to commerce". He does not however state his source. Estanislao J. de Labayru y Goicoechea, *Historia general del señorío de Bizcaya* (Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca, 1968), 6 vols., vol. v, 480.

⁵ For the Irish appeals of 1701 and 1759 seeking confirmation of their privileges see 'privilegios de los irlandeses en Espagne', E., leg. 4816, AHN.

⁶ See for example the representation of the Irish as the new marginal topoi in contemporary Spanish literature. Óscar Recio Morales, "'De nación irlandés': Percepciones socio-culturales y respuestas políticas sobre Irlanda y la comunidad irlandesa en la España del XVII," in *Irlanda y la monarquía hispánica: Kinsale 1601–2001. Guerra, política, exilio y religión*, ed., Enrique García Hernán et al. (Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá-CSIC, 2002), 331–38.

consideration needs to be given to contemporary concepts of 'native-ness' and 'foreignness' in a Castilian context.

*Nativeness and Foreignness in a Castilian context*⁷

The legal framework that defined the position of foreigners in early-modern Castile was fundamentally related to the multi-kingdom structure of the Spanish monarchy, whose subjects, though bound to a common sovereign, were often foreign to each other. Thus, until 1707, Castilians were considered legally as foreigners in the crown of Aragon, and the Aragonese as foreigners in the kingdom of Valencia, to mention but two examples.⁸ At the same time, some groups of foreign people tried to claim privileges due to natives on the basis of being citizens of a common monarchy.⁹ In contrast, many Castilians tried to persuade the king to declare Basques to be foreigners during the opening decade of the seventeenth century, owing to the fact that part of the Basque Country lay within the jurisdiction of the French crown.¹⁰

⁷ This study is limited to the Iberian kingdoms of the crown of Castile as, until the eighteenth century, the crown of Aragon had separate administrative organs.

⁸ On the legal status of foreigners in the kingdom of Castile in the early-modern period see Manuel Álvarez Valdés y Valdés, *La extranjería en la historia del derecho español* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1992). The only monograph on the question of naturalisations is that of Morales Álvarez, though dealing principally with the Spanish Indies. Juan M. Morales Álvarez, *Los extranjeros con carta de naturaleza de las indias, durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Caracas: Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1980); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "La Concesión de 'Naturaleza para comerciar en Indias' durante el siglo XVII," *Revista de Indias* 19 (1959): 227–39; José Luis de las Heras Santos, "La extranjería en la Corona de Castilla durante la Edad Moderna," in *Exclusión, racismo y xenofobia en Europa y América* (Bilbao: Servicio editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 2002), 139–52; the most important recent contribution to an understanding of the framework of the legal status of natives and foreigners in Spanish dominions is that of Herzog. Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations. Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁹ See, for example, the appeal of Flemish merchants in 1722 who claimed they were Spanish natives owing to the marriage of Philip the Handsome (count of Flanders) to Juana, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and as a consequence king of Castile for a number of months. The Irish could have made a similar claim on the basis of the marriage of Philip II to Queen Mary of England, though there is no evidence that they ever did. Morales Álvarez, *Los extranjeros con carta de naturaleza de las indias*, 233–34.

¹⁰ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla* (Madrid: Viuda e Hijos de J.A. García, 1877–1988), 56 vols., vol. 27 (1907), p. 372.

It was the discovery of America by Columbus that had defined Castilian concepts of 'foreigner' (*extranjero*) by virtue of who was not a 'native' (*natural*) of the peninsular and insular kingdoms of the crowns of Castile and Aragon. Tamar Herzog has shown how the concept of foreigner was defined by opposition to the two parallel systems of legal rights existent in Castile—the legal status brought on through membership of the local community or *vecinos* (heads of households), and that associated with membership of the community of the kingdom of Castile. In regard to the first, membership of the community of *vecinos* was open to all foreigners as long as they were Catholic and showed an active desire to take part in the host society, as expressed by, for instance: financial contributions to the local community, possession of a house and property, being subject to local laws, marriage to a native, and long-term residence. As long as a foreigner showed this desire, there was never any question concerning his right to be in Spain.¹¹

Interrelated to the above and integrated with it was the medieval concept of the community of subjects or *naturales* who gave allegiance and obedience to their sovereign lord within a defined territory. The legal status of a *natural* or native was defined either by birth or residence within the state's territorial limits as well as by descent via the father's lineage.¹² By the seventeenth century, these legal definitions of what constituted a *natural* still held true, though the acquisition of native status (*naturaleza*) via lineage appears to have been restricted to immediate offspring, and even then only to those in royal service. Implicit in this legal framework was the assumption that access to public office-holding and ecclesiastical benefices as well as other privileges was the prerogative of natives, and that only they had the best interests of the community at heart.¹³

As a consequence of this, foreigners were not regarded as sharing the same love of the local community nor considered to share its values. From this came the important distinction that both the Castilian crown and the community at large made between 'temporary' (*transéunte*) foreigners and 'permanent' (*avecindado*) foreigners, implicit in the seventeenth century and openly referred to in the eighteenth

¹¹ Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 18–41.

¹² Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas. De los orígenes al final de la Edad Media* (Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1968), 411–15.

¹³ Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 67, 71.

century. The former, though they might live for many years in Spain, were subject to the laws and privileges of their own nation, either as a result of peace treaties or because they fell under the jurisdiction of a consul or *juez conservador* of their own nation.¹⁴ They were not subject to Castilian laws nor did they make any financial contributions to that crown. At the same time, it was presumed that they lived in daily contact with their own compatriots. For this reason, all consuls had to have non-Spanish wives as otherwise they would have been considered as not having the best interests of their nation at heart.¹⁵

'Permanent' foreigners, on the other hand, were subject to Spanish laws, contributed financially and were regarded to all intents and purposes as subjects of the Castilian crown. Long-term residence was deemed to have turned them into natives. It was also presumed that they should have no contact with their compatriots or correspondence with their former sovereigns beyond the familial or business spheres.¹⁶ Implicit in this was that they should conform to the mores and values of Castilian society. The fundamental judicial distinction between the 'temporary' and the 'permanent' foreigners was whether the latter showed a desire to permanently remain there as part of a native community. Considerable ink was spilt by contemporary commentators and royal officials as to what constituted 'the desire to permanently remain in the kingdoms of Castile'. One early-eighteenth century source considered that there existed four principal means for a foreigner to prove this: a royal grant of naturalisation, having most of his property in Castile, the sale of most of his goods in his home country in order to bring the proceeds to Spain, and ten years continual residence. Since the latter was a criteria also fulfilled by many 'temporary' foreigners, other forms of behaviour such as whether they made financial contributions to the crown, put up with other royal charges, or did not claim privileges due to 'temporary' members of their own nation, were considered as evidence of 'a permanent desire to remain'.¹⁷

In all the documentation on nativeness or subject status (*naturaliza*) it was implicit that a grant of naturalisation also entailed a dec-

¹⁴ The *juez conservador* was the judge responsible for all lawsuits involving 'temporary' foreigners. On this figure see Juan M. Morales Álvarez, "Los extranjeros con carta de naturaleza de las indias, durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Valladolid, 1979), 3 vols., vol. 3, 185–87.

¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 3, 142.

¹⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, 418.

¹⁷ Morales Álvarez, "Los extranjeros", vol. 3, 158–60.

laration that the individual originated in the kingdoms of the crown of Castile.¹⁸ Evidently, the presence of so many 'permanent' foreigners in Castile promoted much debate as to whether an individual could be a subject and a native of two different sovereigns, one by birth and the other by choice or circumstances. Many contemporaries considered that an individual did not lose his nativeness through becoming a foreigner: As far as the Castilian crown was concerned, Castilians who worked abroad in royal service did not do so.¹⁹ The same early-eighteenth century source mentioned above, citing the example of a Spanish-born subject resident in France, regarded the individual concerned as subject and vassal of two different kings, one by origin and the other by residence. As such, he should recognise the dominion and sovereignty of both of them as long as there was no conflict of interests. In such a case, however, he should defend the interests of his nativeness by birth over that of residence.²⁰ As we shall see below, this debate on whether an individual would lose his/her nativeness and origin became of crucial importance in the Irish case.

A further factor that played a determining role in terms of the legal rights of foreigners and the granting of naturalisations was the question of the attitude and policy of various Spanish sovereigns. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the evident depopulation of Spain and parts of the Spanish Indies led to the promotion of a series of measures designed to boost population and industry. Some of these involved proposals that envisaged the setting up of foreign Catholic colonies in Spanish dominions such as that of the Irish and the Genoese in Sardinia in 1653.²¹ For the most part, however, the most important royal measures of this kind were those that gave legal rights to foreigners to trade and reside in the Iberian Peninsula. In

¹⁸ The use of the term *naturaleza* has been translated by Herzog as 'nativeness'. However it also carried the sense of 'subject status' or 'native condition'. As such it has also been used in the part of this chapter referring to the legal status of the Irish.

¹⁹ Although Herzog considers that Spanish contemporaries regarded the movement from one kingdom to another as implying the loss of nativeness. The case cited below clearly indicates that opinions were divided on the matter. Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 74–75.

²⁰ Morales Álvarez, "Los extranjeros", vol. 3, 134–36.

²¹ Consulta of the Council of State, 28 May 1653, E., leg. 4126, unfoliated, AGS; three years later Irish Catholic families were given permission to reside anywhere in Spain as *vecinos*. Igor Pérez Tostado, "Looking for 'powerful friends': Irish and English political activity in the Spanish Monarchy (1640–1660)" (Ph. D. dissertation, European University Institute, Florence, 2004), 71.

1620, all children of foreigners who were born in the crown of Castile were declared to be natives.²² Three years later, Philip IV considered as such, in most respects, all foreign Catholics who had resided for ten years, owned property and been married to a Spaniard for at least six of those years. They were admitted to most *oficios de la Republica*.²³ The Count-Duke of Olivares attempted to take these measures a step further in 1624–39 by means of the so-called ‘Union of Arms’ between the different dominions of the Spanish monarchy, which would have involved giving the same legal rights to all its inhabitants.²⁴ The same concern about Spain’s depopulation was evident in the measures taken by Carlos II to bring foreign Catholics including the Irish to reside in Spain.²⁵

To sum up, the Spanish concept of native differed both from kingdom to kingdom, and from modern definitions of native as a synonym of national. In origin it was derived from an amalgamation of *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis*.²⁶ Within the crown of Castile, the rights of a *vecino* were incorporated into those of natives under the monarchy. At the same time, the most important distinction was not between foreigners and natives but between natives and non-natives. From this came the important legal distinction between ‘temporary’ and ‘permanent’ foreigners. This latter group were to all intents and purposes considered as natives and subjects of the Castilian crown once they had demonstrated a desire to permanently remain there and take an active part in the local community in preference to their community of origin. Thus, in effect, one can divide the community of Castilian natives into those born and brought up in Castile, connaturalised foreigners, and naturalised foreigners. Only the latter group had their naturalisation formally expressed in letters of naturalisation.²⁷ Finally, one should also

²² Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 70.

²³ *Novísima Recopilación de las leyes de España*, lib. VI, tit. XI, ley 1.

²⁴ This was evidently partly inspired by Charles V’s unsuccessful attempt in 1525 to give all subjects of the Holy Roman Empire access to the Spanish Indies. Morales Alvarez, *Los extranjeros con carta de naturaleza de las indias*, 32, 92–95; on Irish involvement as subjects of the Holy Roman Empire, see Declan M. Downey, ‘Culture and Diplomacy. The Spanish—Hapsburg Dimension in the Irish Counter Reformation Movement, c. 1529–1629’ (Ph.D. Dissertation, University College Cambridge, 1994).

²⁵ Morales Alvarez, *Los extranjeros con carta de naturaleza de las indias*, 107–11.

²⁶ Alvarez Valdés y Valdés, *La extranjería en la historia del derecho español*, 159.

²⁷ For the regulations governing naturalisation in other European countries see Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 164–200.

bear in mind that emigration to the kingdoms of the crowns of Castile and Aragon represented a more attractive proposition for foreigners than some other European countries owing to the non-application of *droit d'aubain*.²⁸

Privileges for the Irish in Spanish dominions?

Evidently, the question of what privileges the Irish obtained, or the extent to which these were any different from those enjoyed by other nations, was bound by the context of the legal rights that the Spanish crown was willing and able to grant to foreign groups. Given this, it is best to approach the question of the position of the Irish in the kingdom of Castile in two ways. First, we will consider how the Irish residents in Spain adopted the language and criteria of Castilian nativeness as part of their ideological justification for a hybrid subject status with respect to those of them in the service of the Spanish monarchy at the elite level. Second, consideration will be given to how the tradition of Irish service to the Spanish monarchy during the seventeenth century contributed to the first formal institution of 'privileges for the Irish' at the end of the same century.

From the early-1590s onwards, one of the dominant concerns among Irish lords in their correspondence with the Spanish monarchy was their desire to attain subject status from the Castilian crown for themselves, their followers and for people from their lordships. The Spanish crown, on the other hand, studiously avoided any commitment that would have given the Irish nobility any form of legal status as Castilians. Only O'Sullivan Bear and the O'Driscoll lord of Castlehaven (by virtue of their oaths of fealty to the King of Spain's officials at the time of Spanish military intervention at Kinsale in south-east Ireland in 1601) had it implicitly granted. Nevertheless, despite the monarchy's refusal to offer subject status, a certain unofficial legal status was accepted, which was reinforced by the Irish lords' experience of exile and the assimilation of Castilian ideas of statehood.

In the first place, enforced dealings with royal bureaucracy pushed Irish migrants towards identifying themselves in terms of their country of origin. In Irish memorials after Kinsale, the most common descrip-

²⁸ Alvarez Valdés y Valdés, *La extranjería en la historia del derecho español*, 453.

tor used by the royal administration to define Irish petitioners was that the individual was *de nacion irlandés*, notwithstanding the use by the Irish of many other ascriptions to describe themselves. Second, the experience of royal institutions and the resultant discrimination concerning honours and office-holding between those who were Castilian natives and those who were not resulted in the adoption by Irish emigrants of the language and ideas regarding the legal status of the individual under the Castilian crown. This became most apparent in the use of the terms *natural* and *naturaleza* to describe 'native' and 'native status'.

Although rare in Irish petitions during the opening years of the seventeenth century, the qualification *natural* began to be used more frequently after 1610 to specify the origin of the petitioner.²⁹ From 1610 on, moreover, the same qualification began to be used by other Irish petitioners to refer to the natives of Ireland in varied political contexts. In 1613, the Jesuit, William White, tried to justify the legal position of the Old English of the Pale and towns with reference to the fact that, owing to the permanence of their ancestors in Ireland after the Anglo-Norman conquest, 'they remained as *naturales* or natives of Ireland'.³⁰ The common thread uniting all these cases was the fact that they were all long-term exiles who had adopted the use of the Spanish term *natural* to describe a native inhabitant of Ireland. Although it was not surprising to find Irish lords declaring themselves subjects of the English or Spanish crown, it represented an enormous change for their followers to define themselves as 'natives' of the kingdom of Ireland rather than in terms of their subject status to their local lord. Without doubt, the altered legal status of Irish lords' subjects, brought on by the abolition of the Gaelic Irish landholding system of tanistry and gavelkind by the English crown in 1605, also contributed to the development of an alternative form of self identification.³¹

²⁹ For examples of these, see the memorial of Elena McMahon, 9 November 1611, Guerra Antigua (hereafter GA), leg. 752, AGS; memorial of John Bath, 23 March 1619, E., leg. 1774, AGS.

³⁰ William White to Luis Enriquez, 20 March 1613, S. 52/9/8, Salamanca Archive, Russell Library Maynooth; for a further example, see the consulta of the memorial of Richard Conway, 7 March 1624, E., leg. 2752, AGS.

³¹ On the legal background to this change of status see H.S. Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), ch. 4.

Long-term contact with the host society also helps to explain the inclusion of the term *naturaleza* in the vocabulary of Irish exiles. In this case, however, it was the need to acquire a requisite legal status, brought on by the evident discrimination faced by long-term exiles at Spanish universities, in the Church or in the army, that was responsible for its introduction. One such case was that of Antonio O'Driscoll in the late-1620s who found that he could not hold an ecclesiastical benefice because his father had not lived for ten years continuously in La Coruña after his birth.³² Even in the army, long-term exiles found that certain levels of discrimination existed in Spanish companies. In 1637, Daniel O'Driscoll, the son of the eldest brother to the lord of Castlehaven, complained about how a very young, totally inexperienced, but well connected Spanish gentleman had been preferred to him for the command of a Spanish company, notwithstanding that he had already served as replacement captain in the same company for the preceding six months.³³

Yet, it was as a political justification for legal rights that the use of the concept of *naturaleza* made its presence felt most among Irish exiles. In 1620, Dermot O'Sullivan Bear, replying to criticisms of his landless non-native status by unnamed nobles at the Spanish court, stated that neither his father nor his heirs to the title *Conde de Biraben* "should be treated in any way less for not possessing any land or being outside his native condition as he lost the one and the other in the service of this crown".³⁴ The Daniel O'Driscoll mentioned above put it more eloquently some three years later in his petition for naturalisation when he stated that, owing to the events of 1601–02, his father and his uncles "had been dispossessed of their inheritance, lands, and declared traitors by the crown of it [England]. Likewise, their sons and heirs cannot, besides neither are they able to enjoy their native status nor are they [legally] entitled to it, not even as regards any kinds of offices or honours never mind enjoying their own estates".³⁵ In effect, both the O'Sullivan Bears and the O'Driscolls had lost their natural condition as royal subjects of the kingdom of Ireland owing to religious

³² Cédula, 16 November 1629, Camara de Castilla, libro de cédulas 197, f. 92v, AGS.

³³ Memorial of Daniel O'Driscoll, 16 December 1637, GA, leg. 1198, AGS; for other examples see memorial of Richard Fallon, 14 August 1636, E., leg. 2760, f. 137, AGS; consulta of memorial of Arthur O'Brien, 16 April 1680, E., leg. 4124, AGS.

³⁴ Memorial of the conde de Biraben, 6 April 1620, CC, leg. 1142, AGS.

³⁵ Memorial of Daniel O'Driscoll, 23 March 1623, CC, leg. 1126, AGS.

persecution and service to the Spanish crown. This loss, furthermore, had deprived them of the right to benefit from privilege, office holding, honours, or lands. Not surprisingly, the same terminology and concepts regarding legal status within the community as applied to the Irish situation were to be found in Philip O'Sullivan Bear's *Historiae Catholicae Iberniae compendium*, published in 1621.³⁶

All these examples shared in substance the same justifications for claiming protection from the Spanish crown as had been formulated by Irish petitioners since 1602, such as loss of property, lands and followers in the service of the Castilian crown and the Catholic religion.³⁷ But they also showed a more sophisticated awareness, in their formulation of the same justifications in terms of Castilian statehood. In effect, they were able to argue that they merited Castilian naturalisation owing to having been denaturalised (*desnaturado*) because of religious persecution and services to that crown. These were similar in many ways to the submissions to the Castilian crown of Milanese and Sicilian petitioners in the eighteenth century as to why they merited naturalisation, though in these cases the latter groups emphasised their losses in royal service rather than any loss of their native status.³⁸ Only some of the Portuguese who sided with the Spanish crown in 1640 put the same emphasis on the loss of their native condition as deserving of naturalisation as the Irish did.³⁹ As a consequence, their denaturalisation in the service of the Castilian crown entitled them to change their

³⁶ On Philip O'Sullivan Bear's application of Spanish theories of legal rights see Clare Carroll, "Custom and law in the philosophy of Suarez and in the histories of O'Sullivan Beare, Céitinn and Ó Cléirigh," in *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815*, ed., Thomas O'Connor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 65–78; for other examples of this same justification see Clare Carroll, "Irish and Spanish cultural and political relations in the work of O'Sullivan Beare," in *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641*, ed., Hiram Morgan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 242–43; Pérez Tostado, "Looking for 'powerful friends': Irish and English political activity in the Spanish Monarchy," 195; Bernadette Cunningham, "Colonised Catholics: perceptions of honour and history in Micheal Kearney's reading of Foras Feasa ar Eirinn," in *Taking Sides?: Colonial and Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland*, ed., Vincent Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 162–63.

³⁷ For further examples of the use of the term *naturalaleza* among Irish emigrants see Ciaran O'Sceá, "In Search of Honour and a Catholic Monarch: the assimilation and integration of an Irish minority in early modern Castile, 1601–1638" (Ph. D. dissertation, European University Institute, Florence: 2007), 281–84.

³⁸ Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 134.

³⁹ See for example the case of Diego Enriquez de Villegas in 1655. Consulta of Camara de Castilla, 20 February 1655, Consejos Suprimidos (hereafter CS), leg. 4434 (1654), no. 21, AHN.

subject status, and thereby their service to another kingdom and king. In doing this, they were partly imitating the Spanish medieval custom whereby many Christian subjects, who for various motives left their native lord, became denaturalised and emigrated to Muslim Spain where they swore fealty to a different individual. In terms of Spanish medieval legal theory, one of the principal justifications for a subject or vassal to undergo denaturalisation, relevant to the Irish case, was if he was wrongly disinherited by a lord, who then subsequently refused to redress his grievance.⁴⁰ At the same time, however, this was also a reflection of contemporary discourses regarding emigration and loss of nativeness as described earlier.

This avowed allegiance to a different crown did not mean nor imply the granting of a full legal position to the Irish. Instead, Irish exiles attempted to claim a legal status as hybrid natives, who, though owing their allegiance directly to the king, also shared many of the same rights and obligations that fully-fledged natives possessed. The ideological basis of this new found status was the Milesian legend, which enabled the Irish exiles to claim a hybrid form of *naturalaleza* based on a remote lineage, service to the Castilian crown, and long-term residence in Spanish dominions. The importance of the Milesian legend can be seen in how Irish petitioners emphasise 'descent' from the Spanish or 'origin' in the Castilian kingdoms in their petitions, which are exactly the same fundamental terms implied in the grants of Castilian naturalisation.⁴¹

This ideological framework was, besides, rooted in the tradition of Irish military service to the Spanish monarchy that had begun at the time of Spanish intervention in Ireland in 1601–02. As a result of this intervention, the Spanish crown accepted that a bond of protection-fidelity was created between the Irish and the Spanish monarchy that only increased with long-term Irish military service in their dominions. From the perspective of the Spanish monarchy, this entailed the large-scale incorporation of Irish military units into service, the granting of honours to nobles, and the promotion of Irish seminaries in Spanish dominions. On the other hand, acceptance of this protection

⁴⁰ Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979), 163; Álvarez Valdés y Valdés, *La extranjería en la historia del derecho español*, 158.

⁴¹ For examples of these see O'Scea, "In Search of Honour and a Catholic Monarch", 276–78.

not only implied loyalty to the Spanish crown but also acceptance of its political and religious outlook.⁴²

The development of this tradition of military service to the Spanish crown fluctuated considerably according to the military needs of the Spanish monarchy. From the beginning, Irish regiments were, in theory, put on the same footing as Spanish ones with the same "privileges, rights, preeminences, salaries, liberties and exemptions in as full and as wide a manner as the Spanish have or have had in Spain or Flanders". Nevertheless, up until the mid-1640s at least, the patents for Irish companies were not respected to the letter, the Confederation of Kilkenny making this one of its conditions regarding the recruitment of James Preston's regiment for the Catalanian front in 1644.⁴³ These for the most part concerned the power to nominate the replacement of officials within the Irish regiments and the question of pay and financial incentives. Nevertheless, in the same year, the colonel of an Irish regiment in Extremadura, James Geraldine, complained how the Irish were treated worse than the Italians or the Germans in terms of pay despite being, in other senses, on the same footing as the Spanish.⁴⁴

Without doubt, the most important step towards the opening up of any special privileges for the Irish was the condition laid down by the Confederation of Kilkenny for the recruitment of James Preston's regiment. Thereby, all the soldiers and officials of this regiment were to be naturalised in Castile so that "they would be able to enjoy any political or military positions that I might grant them as if they were natives of

⁴² On this bond see Óscar Recio Morales, *España y la pérdida de Ulster. Irlanda en la estrategia política de la Monarquía hispánica (1602–1649)* (Madrid: Colección Hermes, 2003); see also by the same author, "Irish émigré group strategies of survival, adaptation and integration in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain," in *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe*, ed., Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 240–66.

⁴³ Concierto hecho entre el consejo supremo de los catholicos confederados de Yrlanda y Francisco Foissiotte, 16 July 1644. GA, leg. 1570, AGS; on the privileges of military jurisdiction to which the Irish regiments were subject see Francisco Andújar Castillo, "El fuero militar en el siglo XVIII: Un estatuto de privilegio," in *Chronica Nova* 23 (1996): 11–31; for an overview of the role of Irish regiments within the *gente de las naciones* of the armed forces of the Spanish monarchy see Óscar Recio Morales, "La gente de naciones en los ejércitos de los Austrias hispanos: servicio, confianza y correspondencia," in *Guerra y Sociedad en la Monarquía Hispánica: política, estrategia y cultura en la Europa moderna (1500–1700)*, ed., Enrique García Hernán and David Maffi (Madrid: Laberinto-CSIC, 2006), 2 vols., vol. 1, 651–79.

⁴⁴ Consulta of memorial of James Geraldine, 9 May 1644, GA, leg. 1524, AGS.

these kingdoms".⁴⁵ The fact that the Spanish crown was willing to consider the grant of c. 1,000 letters of naturalisation is testimony to its desperate military situation, since to have carried this through would have created considerable problems not only as regards vested interests in the civil sphere but also with respect to the other non-national regiments in Spanish service. In the end, the Old English colonel saved the monarchy's problems by going over to the French with 500 newly recruited Irish some two years later.⁴⁶

The second point to consider is that it is implicit in this proposed grant that, outside of the Irish regiments, Irish military officials had very limited access to military and political office-holding under the Spanish crown. Again, the dispensations of military naturalisations confirm this situation. Out of nine grants of formal naturalisation to Irish military officials between 1619 and 1633, virtually all of the individuals involved went on to command Spanish companies or regiments or had the intention of doing so. Fadrique Plunkett, a second generation Irishman, sought naturalisation in 1633 in order to take up the position of governor of the garrison of Mamora in North Africa, having married the previous governor's widow.⁴⁷ William de Burg was naturalised in 1627 in line with his aim of gaining promotion in the army; by 1644 he had become colonel of a Spanish regiment in Extremadura.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, whether as a direct result of the naturalisation condition laid down by the Confederation of Kilkenny, or more likely owing

⁴⁵ Decree, 16 January 1645, CS, leg. 13.201 (1645), no. 54, AHN; for other correspondence concerning this matter see consulta of the Camara de Castilla, 21 January 1645, CS, leg. 4429 (1645), no. 13, AHN; Concierto hecho entre el consejo supremo de los catholicos confederados de Yrlanda y Francisco Foissiotte, 16 July 1644. GA, leg. 1570, AGS; consulta on Irish levies, 1 January 1645, GA, leg. 1566, AGS; consulta of memorial of James Preston, 14 January 1645, GA, leg. 1566, AGS; it has not been possible to ascertain if this grant was carried out. Although it had the approval of the crown, there is no evidence from the registry of the Court Seal, which would indicate that the regiment was naturalised.

⁴⁶ R. A. Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries, the Wild Geese in Spain, 1618–68* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994), 59.

⁴⁷ Decree of the Camara de Castilla on Fadrique Plunkett, 31 March 1633, CS, leg. 13.196 (1633), no. 42, AHN; consulta of Camara de Castilla on Fadrique Plunkett, 10 April 1633, CS, leg. 4425 (1633), no. 50, AHN.

⁴⁸ Copy of provisión of naturalisation, 27 July 1627, CC, leg. 1188, AGS; cédula, 30 February 1645, GA, lib. 190, f. 62v, AGS; for other examples of Irish military naturalisations see provisión for John Miagh, 30 September 1621, Registro General de Sello (hereafter RGS), September 1621, AGS; memorial of Terence McSweeney, 22 November 1621, CC, leg. 1116, AGS.

to a radical change of policy towards the granting of naturalisations in the early-1640s brought on by events in Catalonia, the restrictions concerning such requests and the concomitant attempts to hold military and political positions outside non-Spanish regiments appear to have eased considerably. Part of the reason lay in the grant of naturalisation to all the principal municipal officeholders of Tortosa and Tarragona in Catalonia in 1642 and 1646 respectively, resulting from the part that they had played in the defence of these cities on behalf of the Spanish monarchy.⁴⁹ These events clearly opened the door to claims for Castilian naturalisation from many Catalonians as well as from non-Castilians serving in the armed forces on this front. This presumably had a knock on effect in terms of wider legal rights within the armed forces for non-Castilians as, from this date on, grants of naturalisation to military officials totally disappear.

In the Irish case, however, any potential for further advancement disappeared as a result of the crisis over the recruitment of Irish regiments in the early-1650s and the desertions en masse of entire Irish companies and regiments to the French crown on the Aragonese and the Catalan fronts in 1653–54.⁵⁰ Although considered only briefly in the secondary literature, it is clear that these events sparked a major crisis in the relationship between the Irish in Spanish service and the Castilian crown. For the Spanish monarchy, the desertions came as a rude awakening as regards its belief in the natural inclination of the Irish towards the Spanish crown. At a military level, the immediate reaction of the supreme commander of the Catalan army, Juan José de Austria, was to seek the removal of all Irish from the army of Catalonia as he considered any town or fortress unsafe in their hands.⁵¹ In the end, the Spanish monarchy solved the problem of what to do with the Irish by calling a halt to any further recruitment, reforming the existing Irish regiments on the Iberian Peninsula and sending most

⁴⁹ Although dealing with the case of Girona in 1653, this consulta cites the precedents of Tortosa and Tarragona in the 1640s. Consulta of the Camara de Castilla, 31 October 1654, CS, leg. 4434 (1654), no. 83, AHN.

⁵⁰ On the background, arrival, and experience of the defeated Confederate forces in Spain see Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries, the Wild Geese in Spain*, 89–137; on the well known incident of the desertion of colonel Grace see ibidem, 116–17; Micheline Kerney Walsh, “The Wild Goose Tradition,” in *Irish Sword* 17 (1987–90): 10–11; on Irish regiments in French service see Éamon Ó Ciosáin, “A Hundred Years of Irish Emigration to France, 1590–1688,” in *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815*, ed., Thomas O’Connor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 98–102.

⁵¹ Consulta, 13 November 1654, GA, leg. 1858, AGS.

of them to Flanders or the navy, besides finally, removing all pro-French Franciscan friars from the Irish regiments.⁵²

The crisis of trust that emerged between those Irish in Spanish service and the crown could well have marked the final point in terms of any special legal status for the Irish in the kingdoms of Castile. However, the return of Irish regiments from France at the time of Spain's war against Cromwell (1655–60) effectively ensured that all was forgiven if probably not forgotten.⁵³ By this stage, the Irish elites in the service of the Spanish crown had developed a politico-military ideology as a nobility of service to the Castilian crown, which was reinforced by other concessions in the non-political sphere.⁵⁴ One such case was the granting of a papal dispensation to carry out investigations into the nobility of Irish petitioners for the Spanish Military Orders at the Spanish court instead of in Ireland in 1688.⁵⁵ Owing to this dispensation, many Irish gained easier access to nobility than certain other non-Irish petitioners. As a consequence, by the time of the first formal granting of 'privileges' for the Irish in 1680, the elites already possessed a long tradition of military and political service to the Castilian crown, cemented by a politico-cultural ideology of the Irish as hybrid subjects of the monarchy.

In 1806, the first clause of the regulations governing the Irish regiment 'Irlanda' stated that:

Since time immemorial the Spanish have recognised the Irish as their descendants and as such have considered them as natives. The officials of the regiment of Burck supplicate at the Royal Feet of His Catholic Majesty to confirm the privileges of this nation, strengthened by royal decree their right of nationalisation, and declaring all Irish Catholics

⁵² On the cessation of military recruitment see *cédula* for Diego de Cardenas, 27 June 1653, GA, lib. 237, f. 118rv, AGS; *cédula* for Diego de Cardenas, 11 September 1653, GA, lib. 237, f. 132rv, AGS; on the reformation of the regiments see *consulta*, 26 March 1654, GA, leg. 1846, AGS; *consulta*, 31 May 1654, GA, leg. 1846, AGS; Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries, the Wild Geese in Spain*, 97, 120; on the problems of the pro-French Franciscan friars see *cédula* for Pedro Manero, padre general Orden San Francisco de la Observancia, 24 July 1653, GA, lib. 237, f. 123rv, AGS; *consulta*, 4 March 1654, GA, leg. 1846, AGS; Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries, the Wild Geese in Spain*, 137.

⁵³ Pérez Tostado, "Looking for 'powerful friends': Irish and English political activity in the Spanish Monarchy," 70–73.

⁵⁴ On this ideology see Pérez Tostado, "Looking for 'powerful friends': Irish and English political activity in the Spanish Monarchy," 88–104.

⁵⁵ A copy of this dispensation is to be found in the archive of the Council of Military Orders. *Consulta*, 29 August 1714, Ordenes Militares, leg. 6270, AHN.

capable of possessing and enjoying in Spain any benefice, position or dignity that any Spaniard should and can enjoy in the ecclesiastical, civil or military spheres.⁵⁶

Without doubt, as the seventeenth century context shows, Irish statements such as the above contained a considerable propagandic element amid the xenophobia prevalent in Spanish society.⁵⁷ As it was, the Irish were one of the groups who attempted to claim they were native Spaniards and foreign at the same time, that is, 'permanent' or 'temporary' foreigners as occasion arose, leading to much hostility from elements of local society who perceived them as progressing at the expense of Spanish-born natives. Owing to this hostility, many members of the Irish elites tried to distance themselves from the criticisms of foreigners by those of Spanish birth through emphasising that they were different from others described in this way.⁵⁸

In fact, once foreigners were given greater access to reside and trade in Castile after the *pragmatica* of 1623, most office-holding became open to those of 'permanent' status. What this meant in effect was that 'permanent' foreigners, including the Irish—who were termed as *vassallos e naturales* or as *vassallos e súbditos* as opposed to the native-born Spanish who were called *naturales vassallos* or just *naturales*—could have access to political, military, and commercial office-holding.⁵⁹ In the Irish case, the only tangible advantage that they had was that they neither had to reside more than seven years before they were considered as naturalised instead of the normal ten years for other 'permanent' foreigners, nor did they have to fulfil the obligation

⁵⁶ Cited in Óscar Recio Morales, "<<Incauta nación, de un irlandés te has fiado>>: Nobleza, nación, e identidades del grupo militar irlandés en el ejército de los Borbones. El caso O'Reilly," in *Los nervios de la guerra. Estudios sociales sobre el ejército de la monarquía hispánica (S.XVI–XVIII)*, ed., Francisco Andújar Castillo and Antonio Jiménez Estrella (Granada: Comares, 2007), 285–86.

⁵⁷ Recio Morales, "<<Incauta nación, de un irlandés te has fiado>>," 281.

⁵⁸ For an example of this see Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 83; on the identification of the Irish as foreigners see Recio Morales, "Irish émigré group strategies of survival, adaptation and integration in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain," 260–66.

⁵⁹ There existed four types of naturalisations, as follows. 1. Without limitations whatsoever to hold secular and ecclesiastical offices. 2. Without limitation in the secular sphere. 3. For ecclesiastical offices only. 4. For most political, military, and commercial offices excluding ecclesiastical offices, the principal municipal and justice offices, and trading with the Indies, in salt or in wool. In the eighteenth century, the fourth type of naturalisation did not need prior consent of Cortes. This, however, was not the case in the seventeenth century. Álvarez Valdés y Valdés, *La extranjería en la historia del derecho español*, 417, 434.

of marriage to a native.⁶⁰ At the same time, they still had to have letters of naturalisation in order to take up ecclesiastical benefices or to trade with the Spanish Indies as did other 'permanent' foreigners. The continued presence of Irish petitions regarding naturalisations for commercial office-holding and promotions within the Spanish Church make this all too apparent.⁶¹

In this chapter, I have attempted to show how modern concerns about the legal rights of citizens and immigrants and the meanings that we apply by using twenty-first century terminology have led to a misreading of seventeenth century documentation, a distortion which is not apparent when placed in the appropriate early-modern context. In the process, the chapter has shown how the early-modern Irish immigrant elites adopted Castilian discourses of nativeness and foreignness to fabricate, together with the Milesian legend, an ideology which would justify their role as a nobility of service to the Spanish monarchy. This took root first in the long tradition of political and military service that began at Kinsale, and later within the commercial elites during the course of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, the legal rights of these elites were not substantially different from those of other Catholic nations in the service of the Spanish monarchy, be they Walloons or Flemish in the military sphere, or Genoese in the field of commerce.

⁶⁰ In theory, they did not suffer from the confiscation of goods during periods of conflict between the Spanish and the English crowns. Although Irish merchants often had their goods confiscated, they were inevitably returned to their owners afterwards. For some examples of these for 1650, see *Contaduría del Suelo*, leg. 158, AGS.

⁶¹ For examples of these see 'consulta' of the memorial of Robert White, 3 September 1785, GJ, leg. 873, AGS; consulta of memorial of Eustachio Barron, 7 July 1788, GJ, leg. 873, AGS; consulta of memorial of Martin de Linane, 14 February 1761, GJ, leg. 873, AGS; consulta of memorial of Thomas Quixk, 24 November 1770, GJ, leg. 873, AGS.

HIDDEN BY 1688 AND AFTER: IRISH CATHOLIC MIGRATION TO FRANCE 1590–1685

Éamon Ó Ciosáin

The subject of Irish migration to France in the early modern period may seem rather well-worn in the context of new and opening lines of enquiry regarding population movement as far as Central and Eastern Europe, evident in recent studies of the Irish and indeed the Scots in those regions.¹ However, this survey will attempt to provide nuances and fresh insights to complement the oft-told tale of the exploits of those ‘Wild Geese’ who took flight after the Battle of the Boyne (1690). The analyses which follow are based in large part on doctoral work and some articles on Irish migration to France prior to the reign of James VII and II.² This migration was predominantly that of Irish Catholics, although a small number of prominent Protestants were also involved.³ Its fate in terms of Irish historiography has too often been a brief note at the outset of a narrative focusing on the more successful late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century migrants and their descendants in France, J.C. O’Callaghan’s history of the Irish brigades (1854, 1870) having set an example here.

One can of course state that Irish migration to France is not enormous in absolute terms when set against transatlantic movements from

¹ For Ireland, see David Worthington, “Towards a bibliography of the Irish in the Holy Roman Empire, 1618–48”, in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 56, (2002), 206–27; J. Parez, “The Irish Franciscans in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Prague”, in T. O’Connor and M.A. Lyons eds., *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820*, Dublin: 2003, 104–117, and M. Mac Craith and D. Worthington, “Aspects of the literary activity of the Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1620–1786”, *ibid.*, 118–134.

² É. Ó Ciosáin, “Les Irlandais en France 1590–1685: les réalités et leur image”, doctoral thesis, Université de Rennes 2, (2007); “Les Irlandais en Bretagne 1603–1780, ‘invasion’, accueil, intégration”, in C. Laurent and H. Davis eds., *Irlande et Bretagne, Vingt Siècles d’histoire*, (Rennes: 1993), 152–66; “A hundred years of Irish migration to France, 1590–1688” in T. O’Connor and M.A. Lyons eds., *The Irish in Europe 1580–1815*, (Dublin: 2001), 93–106; “Regrouping in exile: Irish communities in western France in the seventeenth century”, in R. Armstrong and T. Ó Ánnracháin eds., *Community in Early Modern Ireland*, (Dublin: 2006), 133–53.

³ For example, James Butler, Duke of Ormond, and Murrrough O’Brien Inchiquin, who lived in France during the 1650s, the latter for some ten years.

Spain or Great Britain, which are numbered in hundreds of thousands by some experts.⁴ One conservative estimate of immigration (in)to Ireland in the seventeenth century sets the figure at 180,000.⁵ Research on total figures for outward migration from Ireland to continental Europe during the seventeenth century is in its early stages. However, prior to 1688, a figure of 30–40,000 migrants from Ireland to France alone, based on research in Brittany, Bordeaux, Paris and Rouen, and including residents of the Irish seminaries and religious houses, is conservative, in that it does not cover areas of France where Irish groups are known to have lived (for example the northern frontier towns and garrisons) and given that some research remains to be carried out on total figures as regards military migration.⁶ While this movement peaked in terms of numbers and the importance of certain individuals in mid-century, as it would again in 1688–92, this should not obscure the fact that Irish migration to France is continuous throughout the period, and can be counted in thousands both in the early decades of the century (estimated at 3,000 prior to 1633)⁷ and in the 1670s, when the Dillon and Hamilton regiments consisted of Irish recruits sent over to France. Besides, estimates of soldiers and other migrants in the period 1634–1660 indicate a conservative figure of 20,000: this figure is thus comparable to the often-quoted 19,000 Irish Jacobites who sailed for France in the years 1690–1692, all the more so in that many of these Jacobites spent only some years in France before migrating onwards to serve the Habsburg powers after the troop reductions of 1697–98, just as their predecessors in the 1650s had arrived in France from Spain, Flanders and Ireland, only for some of them to leave after a short number of years.

The sheer numbers involved suggest that people drawn from a variety of strata of Irish society left for France, and historical sources indicate social diversity among the migrants, ranging from beggars to Catholic bishops and a viceroy. Elite history-writing can only provide coverage of a small number of cases, and documentation in France for such

⁴ See the estimates by Sánchez-Albornoz for Spain and Canny for Great Britain in N. Canny ed., *Europeans on the move Studies on European Migration 1500–1800*, (Oxford: 1994), 28 and 54 respectively. The former estimates that some 438,000 left Spain for the New World between 1500 and 1650, while Canny proposes an approximate total of 378,000 from England, with the problematic inclusion of Scottish and Irish migrants in this total.

⁵ N. Canny, in *Ibid.*, 63.

⁶ Ó Ciosáin, “Les Irlandais en France 1590–1685”, 542.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 200–202.

individuals prior to 1690 is meagre when compared to the richness of sources available in Spanish territories. Defining Irish migration to France before 1685 therefore requires recourse to a range of documents both in France and in other jurisdictions. The picture which emerges is complex in terms of the origins of migrants, the reasons for their departure, and their subsequent lives in France. It also raises questions which will be addressed below, concerning historiography and Irish history in particular.

Chronology is another area requiring some nuances. 1688, as mentioned in the title above, rhetorically represents the familiar three-stroke frame of Irish Catholic migration in the seventeenth century, namely, Kinsale and the 'flight' of the Earls (1602 and 1607), the Cromwellian campaign and its aftermath (1650–55) and the struggle of Kings James and William.

On closer inspection, however, the sources point to a rather different time structure. Irish migration to France shadows that to Spain and the Habsburg territories, albeit in more modest numbers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. As with the Habsburg domains, it begins in the late 1580s. Bands of Irish under the command of individuals such as Dominic Collins⁸ saw military activity with the Spanish and Lorraine forces in Brittany in the course of the 1590s, in the context of the civil war of the Holy League in France.⁹ This war also led to the formulation of a lasting French policy towards Ireland. Henry IV of France was by military necessity closely aligned with the English crown in the time of Elizabeth I and while Henry later became less reliant on English benevolence, relations were cordial with the government of James VI and I. This is reflected, for example, in dealings with the Irish earls in late 1607, and in the rejection of several attempts by Irish religious orders to open houses on French territory, as these orders were perceived by the French regime as being pro-Spanish and possibly disloyal to their sovereign. The Irish Catholic secular clergy, on the other hand, were treated more favour-

⁸ For details of Collins' career in France, see interrogation of Collins before Sir George Carew, 9 July 1602, *Calendar of State Papers Ireland: 1601–03*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1912, 439–40.

⁹ Memorials of Irish soldiers who served in Brittany are preserved in the Archivo General de Simancas and the Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, and are mentioned in the database of Irish soldiers abroad now hosted as part of the 'Irish in Europe' project, National University of Ireland Maynooth. One example is Marcus Fallon, who claimed to have served in Brittany. See Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, leg 2742, dated 1605–07. I am grateful to Dr Ciaran O'Scea for this information.

ably in France in the early decades of the century, as they were by the viceregal regime in Dublin: they were allowed to open one seminary and two communities of priests and seminarists in Bordeaux, Paris and Toulouse respectively. This of course is a smaller showing than in Spanish lands, and is indicative of French reluctance to become involved in Irish affairs.

There were large-scale arrivals in France in the early 1600s as there were in Spain. The Irish 'colony' of beggars at the Pont-Neuf in Paris (1602–1606) is a spectacular manifestation of this presence, and it occurred at the same time as the poor Irish quarter developed in London's Knockfergus. One official source, the king's minister Bellièvre, estimated the number of Irish in the Paris area at between 1,200 and 2,000, and the longevity of their presence is attested in various sources.¹⁰ Large but unspecific numbers of poor Irish were reported also in the city of Rouen and its surroundings in 1607 and again in 1609, perhaps connected with the Paris group or perhaps a spillover from the Irish communities, regiments and religious houses in Flanders.¹¹

Parish registers which might provide names and some other slight information on individuals in Paris are no longer extant, and records for Rouen have still to be surveyed. The occasional names from Paris suggest that southern Irish were among the Parisian group. Elsewhere in France, records clearly indicate a dominant Munster population, be it in the clerical groups in the southwest or migrants who are noted in parish records throughout Brittany and in parts of the neighbouring province of Anjou.¹² This reflects a longer-term phenomenon, namely, migration from southwest Ireland (the present county of Cork in particular) to France, Spain and across the Atlantic throughout the seven-

¹⁰ The numbers in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms Français 15578, are quoted in D. Buisseret, "The Irish at Paris in 1605", *Irish Historical Studies*, XIV, (1964), 59. The passage on the Irish beggars in Paris and the rest of France by Agrippa d'Aubigné is in his *Histoire Universelle*, Société de l'Histoire de France, 10 vols, 1887–1909, Livre 15, chap 16, for the year 1602. The expulsion of some of the Irish took place in May 1606.

¹¹ *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Municipales de Rouen, Série A*, vol. 1, 272 for June 1606, and 273 for 1607. See also M.A. Lyons, *Franco-Irish relations 1500–1610: Politics, Migration and Trade*, (Woodbridge/Rochester: 2003), 177–78.

¹² See, for example, the lists in P. Dagier, *Les réfugiés irlandais au 17^{ème} siècle en Finistère*, (Quimper: 1999); A. Le Noac'h and É. Ó Ciosáin, *Immigrés irlandais au XVII^e siècle en Bretagne*, (Vannes: 2006) and *Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales de Maine-et-Loire Série E, Supplément*, tomes II, III.

teenth century. Some surnames in Brittany and Anjou are the same as one finds in Montserrat and Barbados in the mid-part of the century.¹³ As regards the plain people, a steady trickle of baptisms, some marriages and the occasional death indicate continuous migration through the 1620s and 1630s after the early swell of 1603–09. Mentions of the élite concern Munstermen of predominantly Gaelic origins in Bordeaux and Toulouse, and Old English and Anglo-Norman names from south and south-east Ireland in the Irish college in Paris and among those rare merchants in the ports of the west of France. Old English families originating from Drogheda, Dublin and also Galway are found in France before the 1640s. This early migrant population is characterised by the mobility of all categories except for a few merchants, and the marked instability of small groups and wandering poor.

Irish famines in the 1620s lead to movement of the poor to Southern England and France. The frequency of entries in French parish data mirrors those shortages and increases in Irish mentions in French parish registers correspond to those surges in the parish data from England used by Fitzgerald in his quotable study of the Irish poor there.¹⁴ These shortages are not however the only explanatory factor in these decades. After the Ulster plantation, several further plantations would appear to have dislodged people, who subsequently migrated, at least in areas such as Wexford, Offaly/North Tipperary and Longford. However, the most striking evidence is that of the steady flow of the Gaelic population of southwest Munster to Brittany and Anjou from the 1620s onwards. This phenomenon appears to correspond firstly with the steady erosion of possibilities for Gaelic smallholders, and perhaps to a greater extent with the more intensive colonisation of the rich Munster lands through government schemes and the acquisitions of Richard Boyle, the great Earl of Cork, in this region. Frequent mentions of Irish arrivals in parish data from Brittany in the 1620s in particular correspond to the high point of the second plantation of Munster as it has been considered by Quinn, that is to say, the seventeenth-century attempt.¹⁵ Further studies on the model of Mac Cuarta's

¹³ See, for example, the lists in A. Gwynn, "Documents relative to the Irish in the West Indies", *Analecta Hibernica*, 4 (1932), 139–286.

¹⁴ P. Fitzgerald, "'Like crickets to the crevice of a brew-house': poor Irish migrants in England, 1560–1640" in P. O'Sullivan ed., *The Irish World Wide, History, Heritage, Identity*, vol. 1, "Patterns of Migration", (Leicester/London/New York: 1992), 13–35.

¹⁵ D.B. Quinn, "The Munster plantation", *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. LXXI (1966), 19–40.

study of the smaller Leitrim plantation will hopefully provide a fuller context for the study of migration from the areas planted under James I and Charles I; for the time being, historians could do worse than to refer to the chapters in Butler's studies on plantations in Ireland, which provide suggestive material that may be valid for those migrating to France.¹⁶

An important surge in migration to France occurred in the mid—to late 1630s with the recruitment of six Irish regiments by the French. This series of departures constitutes the largest movement to France outside the chronological signposts of 1603–07, 1649–53 and 1688, and on its own is sufficient reason to modify our perspective on Irish migration to France. The regiments were composed of Gaelic footsoldiers, raised mainly in the southern half of Ireland by colonels of Old English or Anglo-Norman origins, the latter groups being politically acceptable to Charles I and to his French wife Henrietta. While there is clear evidence of the return of some colonels to Ireland during the 1640s civil war period, the number of footsoldiers they brought with them from France was negligible. Migration continued from Munster during that decade, flowing against expectations of a return of Irish to fight. This migratory flow appears to have had an economic motive in many cases, and the behaviour of the migrants on arrival in Brittany in particular is as one would expect of economic migrants. From 1640 onwards, various Breton towns saw the growth of Irish communities, with Irish priests ministering to them in some cases. Further regiments crossed from Ireland to France in 1645 and 1647, prior to Cromwell's campaign of 1649, which ultimately led to large-scale departures of all social categories of Catholics to France, and the flight to France of the former viceroy Ormond and his ally Murrough O'Brien, both Protestants. At the apex of Irish Catholic society, prominent merchant families and large numbers of diocesan clergy left Ireland in 1650 and after. Of twelve bishops remaining alive, ten went to France, where some of them lived out the rest of their days.¹⁷ The figures of priests reported by sources in France as having accompanied the hierarchy

¹⁶ W.F.T. Butler, *Confiscation in Irish History* (London: 1917); idem, *Gleanings from Irish History*, (London: 1925); the latter work focuses on West Munster in particular.

¹⁷ For an extensive study of the bishops' exile, see R. d'Ambrières and É. Ó Ciosáin, "Irish bishops and clergy in exile in mid-seventeenth-century France", *Irish Historical Studies*, XXXIV, no. 141 (2008), 16–37. Cf also R. d'Ambrières, "Les tribulations des ecclésiastiques irlandais exilés en Bretagne", *Le Pays de Dinan*, vol. XXI (2001), 165–89.

into exile indicate that in many cases up to half of the serving clergy of certain dioceses departed for France between 1650 and 1655 (date of the arrival of two bishops in Nantes with their attendant clergy).

The Cromwellian period was decisive in many respects and was important in terms of the Irish presence in France. Previously existing Irish military corps such as the Muskerry and Wall regiments were swelled by new arrivals, and new regiments constituted of men who flocked to the Stuart king from the Spanish territories. There were some direct arrivals from Ireland, such as the O'Sullivan Beare regiment, which reached France in 1653. Merchant families of Old English/Anglo-Norman origin settled in Western French ports such as Saint-Malo, Morlaix, Port-Louis and Nantes after their expulsion from the towns and corporations under the English Parliamentary regime. The 1650s was also a decisive decade for Irish seminaries in France in that French royal recognition was granted to two establishments, those of Bordeaux and Toulouse, in 1653 and 1659 respectively.

It might be expected that the end of the Parliamentary regime would have favoured the return of many migrants from France, but the Restoration was not a return to *status quo ante* for the majority of those exiled in France. As has been outlined previously,¹⁸ only certain well-connected élite figures such as MacCarthy Muskerry and Murrough O'Brien recovered substantial possessions in Ireland. Far from marking a massive return to Ireland, a period of some uncertainty among the Irish in France was soon followed by a consolidation and new arrivals. Regiments were disbanded one by one up to 1663, but many troops remained, and a new regiment was formed under Wentworth Dillon in 1669. In the years 1672–78, the Irish Hamilton regiment was 'loaned' by Charles II to Louis XIV. A number of the men of this regiment were veterans who had stayed on in France through the 1660s and in some cases had served in the 1650s. Others were troops recently raised in Ireland and shipped over to western France.

The decade of the 1670s marks a turning point, insofar as the Irish in France appear to have adopted a new perspective. Educational structures were finally set up on a firm basis in Paris and Nantes dur-

¹⁸ These points are expanded upon in É. Ó Ciosáin, "The Irish in France 1660–90: the point of no return", in T. O'Connor and M.A. Lyons eds., *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe* (Dublin: 2006), 85–102, esp. 87–88.

ing the years 1675–78. These were cities where large numbers of exiled priests and religious had congregated in the 1650s. Additional newly-settled Irish groups appeared at this time in Brittany and La Rochelle. Naturalisation statistics pick up in the mid 1670s,¹⁹ while Irish merchants in Nantes began building up their fortunes, which would reach dizzying heights in the early eighteenth century.²⁰

This history, as it appears from a range of sources, French, Spanish, English and Irish, raises a number of questions. Early seventeenth-century historiography of Irish migration focuses almost exclusively on the Spanish dominions, and concentrates on the élite, notably the Ulster nobility. This is not to query the validity of élite history as such; rather it is to place it in its context, that of migration of sizeable numbers of people from Ireland. The numerical extent of Ulster migration at this time has already been queried by Murdoch and Grosjean. In addition, French sources and recent research by O'Scea on Spain indicate a West Munster predominance in migratory figures, in the number of regiments, and among the prominent Irish figures at the Spanish court.²¹ This in turn raises questions about causality. How extensive were clearances or disposessions in Munster? To what extent was the situation worsened by famines and shortages? Does seasonal migration to Spain (and possibly Brittany) date back much further than the time described by William Molyneux, and thus explain some of the numerous Irish appearing in continental sources?²² Continuous migration from Munster raises also issues of demography, for if Munster was empty, as some English writers claimed, from where were the numbers of migrants to continental Europe coming? It may be that descriptions of an empty landscape in the early seventeenth century are simply the

¹⁹ Documentation for the regions in the jurisdiction of the Paris Chambre des Comptes is poor and often no more than a name and a date; detailed documentation is available for Brittany in the Nantes Chambre des Comptes, Archives Départementales de Loire-Atlantique, Série B.

²⁰ The standard work on these merchants is the chapter "La noblesse débarquée", in J. Meyer, *La Noblesse Bretonne au XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1985).

²¹ C. O'Scea, "The significance and legacy of Spanish intervention in West Munster during the battle of Kinsale", in O'Connor and Lyons, *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale*, 32–63; idem, "Irish emigration to Castile in the opening years of the seventeenth century" in P. Duffy ed., *To and from Ireland: planned migration schemes c. 1600–2000* (Dublin: 2004), 17–37.

²² Molyneux described seasonal migration from Munster c. 1683. See, W. O'Sullivan, "William Molyneux's Geographical Collections for Kerry", *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 4, (1971), 37.

common trope to be expected in colonial writing in various countries. Be that as it may, the historiographical focus on the Ulster plantation and the prominence accorded to Ulster exiles in Irish historical studies clearly need to be balanced by further investigation of the subsequent plantations and the population which went into exile in their aftermath.

Social networks which evolved among the exiles, and behaviour among the Irish in France, insofar as the sources allow us to study it, raise issues about the two principal groups of Irish Catholics as defined in historiographical practice. The Irish of Gaelic extraction and those of English or Norman origin clearly differ in the pattern of civilian settlements. The 'Old English' congregated in ports and walled towns with no exception, whereas the Gaelic Irish and occasional Anglo-Norman descendants were found in towns, villages and rural areas.²³ Inter-marriage between 'Old English' and Gaelic is quite rare in France at this time. There are almost no members of the Gaelic élite in France before the 1650s, and even then they are few;²⁴ the same applies to Ulstermen, who only begin to appear in France in the 1650s after troops crossed from the Spanish forces to the French side. Members of the 'Old English' Catholic élite appear to have found France a congenial kingdom, however, and many of their merchants settled in western France after 1650. Given these facts, besides the history of the Irish colleges in France and the favourable attitude of Stuart courts in exile towards Irish Catholics of Old English and Anglo-Norman extraction, one must question to what extent Irish exiles had gathered around the common name of Irishman/Éireannach. They may have made common cause in times of crisis, but the evidence from France would indicate that the two groups remained largely separate before 1685 at least, thus mirroring intense rivalry as evidenced by conflicts between Gaels and Old English in the Irish seminaries of Spain.

As an immigrant group, how can the Irish in France be characterised? They were accepted well in the main: parish records indicate frequent protection at baptism by nobles, members of the judiciary

²³ These remarks are based on local archival mentions in the province of Brittany, covering Finistère, some of Morbihan, northern Brittany, Rennes and Nantes. Occurrences in Anjou do not point to any different pattern there. See Ó Ciosáin, "Regrouping in exile", 153.

²⁴ Philip O'Sullivan Beare resided in Brittany in the late 1650s. See the detail in Dagier, footnote 12 above.

and legal professions, who acted as godparents, as well as local clergy who sponsored those with no support, as was the practice at the time.²⁵ Upwardly mobile Irish in 1680s were, moreover, found in legal circles in Brittany, and occasionally in military command elsewhere.²⁶ Local support was especially strong in Brittany, but this was not due to linguistic reasons. Catholicism appears to have been the decisive factor in the favourable reception many Irish experienced there. Popular awareness of the Irish origin of a number of Breton saints, raised at a time of religious revival during the Counter-Reformation, is a further plausible factor.²⁷ This local and regional nuance reflects the gap between state detachment, based on political and diplomatic necessities, and the generally positive attitude of regional authorities towards the Irish, an attitude which became more supportive as the century progressed, notwithstanding some early proclamations against Irish beggars. Pious Catholic *dévot* elements, whether in Brittany (the Jesuit Maunoir, Bishop Gabriel de Beauvau in Nantes), or in Paris (Vincent de Paul, Baron de l'Escalopier), took a clearcut position on Irish questions. Vincent de Paul's letters clearly mention persecution of Catholics in Ireland, and the bishop of Nantes gave practical support to a large number of Irish clergy in exile during the English Republic.²⁸ Ministers from Richelieu onwards did not entertain the exhortations of those in France who sought prosecution of a religious war in Ireland. This reflects roughly the *politique/dévot* divide among French Catholics dating back to the sixteenth century.

²⁵ Numerous examples can be found in Dagier, Le Noac'h and Ó Ciosáin, for Brittany alone. A very early example of the practice is found in P. de l'Estoile's diary, when the French queen Marguerite de Valois was godmother to the child of a poor Irishwoman in 1605. See P. de l'Estoile, *Mémoires*, ed. Brunet, Champollion et al. (Paris: 1875–96, 12 vols), vol. viii, 190–91, dated 10 September 1605.

²⁶ This was the case for the Hamilton family, whose regiment served in France from 1672 to 1678, and the MacCarthy Muskerry commanders such as Justin McCarthy. Both families are mentioned as members of the exiled court of Charles II in Antoine Hamilton's *Mémoires du Chevalier de Gramont* (first published 1713). This book attests to their prominence in the eyes of the French élite.

²⁷ Thus, Albert Le Grand's *La vie, gestes mort et miracles des saints de la Bretagne armorique*, (Nantes: 1637, reprint Rennes 1659, 1680) highlights some saints who crossed from Ireland to promote Christianity in Brittany. Le Grand's work was disseminated, and fits into a pattern of reformation writing which reached the public through churches and through Breton-language theatre, which staged many *mystères* based on such sources.

²⁸ For more details on these issues, see d'Ambrières and Ó Ciosáin, "Irish bishops and clergy in exile."

Irish soldiers, merchants and clergy integrated well in general, and after the expulsions of 1606–09 from Paris and Rouen, few incidents which can be specifically ascribed to ‘ethnic’ factors occurred. There were occasional tensions, such as an attack on an Irish regiment marching across Brittany in 1639, or a complaint against an Irish brewer in Morlaix in the 1650s, but these were merely manifestations of more general and frequent tensions, between local populations and military in the first case,²⁹ and fears that food crops would be bought up for other purposes in the second. Integration of the Irish into local populations in France took two generations: that is to say, intermarriage, learning of the language, and sometimes assimilation of the family name to a common French surname. There is little evidence of different patterns of socialisation or of specific customs setting the Irish apart. Language was a difficulty at first, and there may have been communication in Latin at the outset between some Irish and their French counterparts—this would apply to clergy and the educated élite. Eighteenth-century evidence suggests that there was not a strong endocentric tendency among these Irish exiles. All of these remarks raise questions: is this phenomenon of integration a reflection of similarity, assisted by a common religion? Does it point to an openness in French society at the time, or rather to a willingness on the part of the Irish to conform to their surroundings? This latter question requires further investigation: one notes a tendency among Irish immigrants in parish registers to adopt French or (occasionally) local Breton names at baptism. A parallel phenomenon occurred in the world of the military: documents concerning invalid soldiers from the 1650s to the 1690s indicate a ratio of one Irishman in three bearing a regimental nickname in the French language. The practice of giving regimental names was widespread in the French forces at the time, but occurrences are extremely rare among soldiers of other foreign nations.³⁰ The phenomenon is interesting in that they are commonplace French names, with no exotic elements, and it is perhaps precisely this ordinariness which points to a familiarity among these soldiers, many of whom served in French regiments as well as Irish or British corps;

²⁹ For examples see D. Parrott, *Richelieu's army* (Cambridge: 2001).

³⁰ Almost none among the many Swiss soldiers, one case in thirty among Scottish soldiers presenting at the Hôtel des Invalides, 1670–90. Documentation: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, collection Chatre de Cangé, vol. 29, fol. 235, vol. 30, 117; Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, series XY, vols 1–11.

indeed some of them served their entire career in non-Irish and non-British regiments, if their testimony is to be believed.³¹

There appear to be no striking successes in terms of social ascension before 1690, if we except the Ormondist circle in Paris, whose later reputation in France is partly due to the work of one of their own, the brilliant writer Antoine Hamilton. French state policy did not oppose or restrict naturalisation, but relatively few Irish immigrants sought it in spite of the financial advantages it brought for one's descendants. This is no doubt partly due to the social profile of this immigrant group as a whole. Merchants sought naturalisation from the early seventeenth century onwards, particularly those established in Brittany (Saint-Malo, Le Croisic), but it would appear from extant sources that a number of Irish clergy did not look for the quality which would enable them to take up and transmit church *bénéfices*, unless the existing documentation is altogether too fragmentary. One nonetheless finds them ministering in parishes in the Bordeaux area (from the 1630s onwards), in Anjou, Brittany and in the hinterland of Paris, clearly in receipt of some form of a church living. Similarly, many Irish whose professions are mentioned in parish records appear to have plied their trades without seeking the benefit and protection of naturalisation, which suggests that they did not feel the necessity to do so although their families remained in France for the longer term and indeed after their deaths. This may indicate a laxity in official application of fiscal controls in the provinces, in Brittany at least, and perhaps a confidence among the Irish immigrants on the subject. It is a matter which further study of records may elucidate.

The fact remains that the Irish as a nation were not subject to scrutiny as the Scots were from the 1620s on, as the memory of the "Auld Alliance" faded and as the consequences of the union of the crowns of Scotland and England became clear. As regards the Irish, there were few official sanctions and even then, these were not necessarily followed up to any degree, as happened with many other governmental measures at the time. Surveillance occurred at times of crisis, but was not long-standing.³² The Irish in France probably benefited from their

³¹ Remarks on regimental nicknames in Ó Ciosáin, "One hundred years of Irish migration", revised and developed in Ó Ciosáin, "Les Irlandais en France 1590-1685" (doctorate), 315-19.

³² Orders to draw up lists of Irish arrivals and the captains who transported them were issued by the Parlement de Bretagne in 1603, see P. Parfouru, "Les Irlandais en

status as subjects of the kings of England, with the *bonne entente* in force, strengthened by the French marriage of Charles I. Their being Catholics was no doubt an additional factor of assistance. Yet, one should balance this hypothesis with the lack of positive gestures in their favour by central authorities in France. Support for the earliest fully-constituted Irish seminary (1603) was primarily local in Bordeaux, and the reception granted clergy in Nantes in the 1650s likewise. Until the 1650s, there was no direct state aid for seminaries, unlike Spain, (however meagre and infrequently paid the sums were in dominions under Spanish control). No privileges specific to the Irish, or indeed to other subjects of the British crown, were granted in this period.

The issue of privileges arose in the eighteenth century, as many prominent persons of Irish and British origin rose to political prominence. The documentation relating to a request for specific privileges for the Catholics of Ireland, England and Scotland provides proof of another curious characteristic of the Irish migration to France before the French Revolution. The 1749 memorandum drafted by Fitzjames, Lally-Tollendal and others, claims rights for the Irish (and others) by virtue of their residence and service in France since the time of James II.³³ Yet we know that military service by Irish regiments in France dates from 1635, if not 1616.³⁴ Many Irish merchants had been naturalised since the 1620s. The same applied to the Scots and English, if in lesser numbers. No memory of this history appears to have been passed down, except among the clergy, whose institutions conserved their founding documents and subsequent records. However, reference to distinguished precedents should have been an important weapon in the arsenal of the Jacobite Irish post-1690: naturalisations, military service, length of family attachments in France, all could be very useful if one was claiming privileges and recognition of status under the Ancien Régime. It would appear that Jacobite memory saw 1690 as the

Bretagne aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles”, *Annales de Bretagne*, IX (1893–94), 524–25; the 1666 roll of Irish Catholic denizens of Brittany may have been prompted by the outbreak of hostilities between France and England, see Ó Ciosáin, “The Irish in France 1660–90: the point of no return”, 89.

³³ Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, Correspondance Politique Angleterre, vol. 425, fos. 336–60, “Requête au Roy: Projet de déclaration et Pièces en faveur des Irlandois Anglois et Ecossois Catholiques domiciliés en France qui demandent à estre naturalisez”.

³⁴ Some doubt remains as to whether the soldiers of Rodrigo O'Donoghue in the French army of 1615–16 were a regiment or merely a company.

année zero (for Ireland, one can cite James MacGeoghegan's *Histoire d'Irlande*, the 1749 memorandum, the anonymous letter by an Irish captain to his son after 1692 and the priest poet Manus Ó Ruairc in this regard).³⁵ This viewpoint was later perpetuated by J.C. O'Callaghan and others. In fact, all the dynamics operating in France in Jacobite times had begun much earlier: dispossession at home, military service abroad, polarisation of clerical migration towards France rather than Spain, integrational forces in France, naturalisations, and so forth. All that remained was for fortunes to be made at sea, glorious but bloody battles to be fought and *anoblissements* (elevation to noble status) to follow. One can speculate as to the reasons for the discretion about the pre-1690 exiles, or perhaps airbrushing of their achievements out of communal memory, which is noticeable in the 1749 memorandum. A particular wave of migration can often be hostile to its successor(s), both in terms of competing for position and access to the host society, and it may be that the eighteenth-century Jacobites in France did not wish to draw attention to their predecessors, in order to highlight their own achievements. Or it may be a reflection of the fact that the earlier exiles did not make progress up through the hierarchical paths in French society to any extent as some from among the later groups did. However, post-1688 exiles relied to a considerable extent on intermediaries based in pre-existing institutions such as the Irish and Scots colleges for their initial success in establishing themselves in France.³⁶ This makes the partial amnesia reflected in the title of this article all the stranger. However that may be, the history of exiles from Ireland and from the other kingdoms prior to 1688 is far from being negligible; its social profile was very varied, as were the circumstances which led to the presence in France. It is comparable to the history of the Jacobite exiles in several respects outlined here, constitutes a rich field of enquiry which is far from exhausted, and which will benefit from an historical approach that takes account of the differing circumstances affecting the various nations of the three kingdoms.

³⁵ J. MacGeoghegan, *Histoire d'Irlande*, 3 vols, (Paris/Amsterdam: 1758–63); BNF, Ms Français 12161, letter of an Irish officer, and C. Mooney, "Manutiana", *Celtica*, vol. 1, no. 1, (1946), 26.

³⁶ N. Genet-Rouffiac, *Le Grand Exil, les Jacobites en France, 1688–1715* (Paris: 2007), esp. chap XI, "Les établissements religieux dans la communauté jacobite", 249–57 and 267–69.

PART TWO

DIPLOMATS AND TRAVELLERS

MURDER AS A WEAPON OF EXILE: ENGLISH POLITICS AT THE SPANISH COURT (1649–1652)

Igor Pérez Tostado

Exiles in the early modern period were usually extremely active politically, the results of this being often of great consequence, especially in the turbulent mid-seventeenth century. There is a need to re-examine the political culture of those times in order to tackle such groups as actors in the making of European foreign policies. This chapter looks at the political implications of the arrival and activity of a body of English exiles in their land of adoption, Spain, especially a series of attempts that they made to influence the international policy of their hosts in their favour. After the beheading of Charles I in 1649, both Royalists and Parliamentarians turned Madrid into a battlefield in their shadow war, the struggle for political influence in that city culminating in the murder of Anthony Ascham, the Parliament's agent. Republicans and Royalists aimed at the same prize, Spanish recognition, and towards that end they exerted as much political pressure on the Spanish Monarchy as possible.

The execution of Charles I shook the entire continent. In a gesture of solidarity repeated at all the major European courts, Philip IV of Spain wrote a letter to the heir of the deceased monarch, which was delivered by Antonio Brun, one of the Spanish plenipotentiaries in Münster and the Spanish king's new ambassador to The Hague, where the future Charles II was then also residing.¹ From there, the prince hoped to take the offensive against the reduced Parliament, the Rump, now firmly under control of the independents. In this, the young Stuart counted on the support of both the Irish Confederates, who had recently signed a peace with Ormond, and the Scots, who

¹ Archivo General de Simancas [hereafter AGS], Estado [hereafter E.], legajo [hereafter leg.] 8464, folio [hereafter f.] 106, Philip IV to Charles II, 10–II–1649; National Archives [hereafter NA], SP94, leg. 43/1 ff. 1, Philip IV to Charles II, 10–II–1649, Brun's account AGS, E., leg. 8375, f. 55, Antonio Brun to Philip IV, 29–VI–1649, his conduct approved in Madrid, AGS, E., leg. 8375, f. 73–75, Philip IV to Antonio Brun, 31–VIII–1649.

proclaimed him their king in February.² His intention was to move his court as soon as possible to Ireland, from where he hoped, with some support from the continental powers, to achieve a restoration in his other kingdoms. Hence, the newly-born Commonwealth, now master in England, had to turn its attention towards Ireland and the continent too, to carry out, in the former, a military campaign and, in the latter, a strong diplomatic and naval action so as to throttle any international support for the Royalists. For a few years, Madrid was to become one of the centres of this struggle, in which both groups put pressure on the Spanish Monarchy, and where politics mixed with bloodshed.

Political murder and English political activity at the Spanish court

While planning his expedition to Ireland in 1649, Charles decided to send an extraordinary embassy to Philip IV. It was led by Francis Lord Cottington, former agent and ambassador to the Spanish court.³ To accompany him, an old man of nearly seventy, Edward Hyde, future Earl of Clarendon, was chosen.⁴ The instructions to the ambassadors were, first of all, to offer an offensive and defensive alliance to the Spanish king, with the assurance that, if he was restored to his ancient dominions 'no other alliance shall keep us from giving him our best assistance upon all occasions'. The Stuarts promised, in addition, not only to protect the Catholics of the three kingdoms from the application of the Penal Laws, but also to take steps for the abolition of the latter. The ambassadors were to offer guarantees under the great seal of England for any loan that Spain might provide for the cause of Charles, and were, besides, to approach the Papal nuncio in Madrid and his agents, in order to obtain the support of Rome.⁵ While his options

² AGS, E., leg. 2524, f. 33, Alonso de Cárdenas to Philip IV, 13-IV-1649.

³ G.F. Warner, *The Nicholas Papers. Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State*. (London: 1892), vol. I, 123-125, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 6-IV-1649.

⁴ Warner, *The Nicholas Papers*...op. cit., vol. I, 123-125, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 6-IV-1649, he was not the only one to think that he was not appropriate for the position, Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Commencing from the Year MDCXXI, Containing the Materials from which his History of the Great Rebellion was Composed*. (Oxford: 1767-1786) II, 490, Earl of Bristol to Edward Hyde, 19-VIII-1649.

⁵ Warner, *The Nicholas Papers*...op. cit., vol. II, 481, secret instructions from Charles II to Lord Cottington and Edward Hyde, V-1649.

were still open, financial backing from the papacy was one of the strong considerations moving Charles closer to the Irish Catholics.⁶

Although it was the interests of Philip IV which were to guide the negotiations in London, Alonso de Cárdenas (c. 1592–1666) was also instructed to keep a close eye on possible negotiations between the French and Parliament. Indeed, the dilemma in Paris was exactly the same as that which would soon become apparent in Madrid, and the French court doubted as to how to treat any agent. On the one hand, if they received the Parliament's ambassadors they would be seen as supporting their actions. On the other, if they rejected the parliamentarians, they would be thrown into the arms of the Catholic King.⁷ As for the future Charles II, ever since the death of his father, he had toyed with the idea of brokering a peace between the French and the Spanish monarchies, which could, in return, help him to be restored in his three kingdoms. The presence of Cottington and Hyde in Paris offered him the opportunity to put his idea into practice. Cardinal Mazarin, who always spoke Spanish with Cottington, did not oppose the offer of mediation through the extraordinary embassy to Madrid, while it was precisely in relation to the Franco-Spanish war that Cottington and Hyde thought themselves to be more useful to the Spaniards and to obtain more in return.⁸ Yet, Philip IV and his councillors used as many methods as possible in order to delay the official reception of the ambassadors and discover their true plans and the unfolding of Charles' strategy, especially in relation to Portugal, whose independence would be disputed by Spain until 1668.⁹ In spite of a graceful dialogue between Don Luis Mendez de Haro (1598–1661) and the king, the Council of State in Madrid was worried that any support for Charles could lead to a breakdown of the peace with England.¹⁰ Also, as usual, the information gap between the theatre of action and the centre of decision-making advised a prudent instead of a bold attitude. Even Manuel de Moura

⁶ J. Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Farnshawe* (Oxford: 1979), 128–131.

⁷ Archivio Segreto Vaticano [hereafter ASV], Segreteria di Stato [hereafter Segr. Stato], Vescovi e prelati, vol. 16, fol. 80–80v, Rinuccinni to Innocent X, 80–80v.

⁸ M.J. Havran, *Caroline Courtier: The Life of Lord Cottington* (London: 1973), 171; E. Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion et des Guerres Civiles d'Angleterre, depuis 1641 jusqu'au Rétablissement du Roi Charles II.* (Hague: 1709), vol. V, 589.

⁹ E. Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. II. 502–503, Francis Cottington and Edward Hyde to Lord Jermyn, 15–XII–1649.

¹⁰ AGS, E., leg. 2525, Consulta of the Council of State, 1–I–1650.

y Cortereal, Second Marquis of Castel Rodrigo (d.1651) feared that the entire diplomatic mission was a ruse orchestrated by the French in order to arouse suspicion and hostility in the English parliament.¹¹ Thus, in spite of the optimistic letters being sent by Cottington and Hyde, the Spanish authorities were playing with the idea of what to do if the parliament sent a representative.¹² Indeed, the news sent by Cárdenas that the parliament in London planned to send an agent of its own to Madrid dramatically changed both Spanish foreign policy and the Royalist ambassadors' scope for action.¹³

The Parliamentary Embassy

The sending of an envoy from the Parliament to Spain posed the same embarrassing question as it had in the other major European courts as regards the official status of the English Commonwealth, even if the discomfiture was somehow mitigated by Charles' recognition of the Portuguese ambassadors, which permitted Philip IV to act similarly. Reception of the Parliament's agent, however, offered the not inconsiderable benefit of at least maintaining more or less friendly neutrality and commercial relations, and calmed fears of aggression against Cárdenas which might lead to an undesired war. Although Cárdenas was ordered to suggest to the parliamentarians that it would be in their benefit to favour Spain against France, the council in Madrid did not expect to obtain other advantages from England.¹⁴ Where, in fact, real benefits were being obtained, thanks to the Parliament, was not in England but in Ireland. There, François Foissott was making deals in

¹¹ AGS, E., leg. 2525, Consulta of the Council of State, 1-I-1650.

¹² E. Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. II. 507-508, Francis Cottington and Edward Hyde to Charles II, 3-I-1650; Vol. III. 7-11, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 3-I-1650; AGS, E., leg. 2072, Count Peñaranda to Philip IV, 4-XII-1649, in 1656 and 1657 anonymous pamphlets in the court at Madrid accused Peñaranda of Anglophilia, blaming his naiveté for the failure of the negotiations and the war, Barrionuevo de Peralta, *Avisos de Jerónimo de Barrionuevo (1654-1658)* (Madrid: 1968-1969) vol. II, 19-25, aviso CLXIII, Madrid, 15-XI-1656, 62-64, aviso CLXXVII, Madrid, 28-II-1657; about the influence of the English war on the career of Peñaranda: A. Malcolm, *Don Luis De Haro and the Political Elite of the Spanish Monarchy in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, Unpublished PhD (Oxford: 1999), 186-250.

¹³ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Alonso de Cárdenas to Philip IV, 11-II-1650.

¹⁴ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Alonso de Cárdenas to Philip IV, 11-II-1650; AGS, E., leg. 2170, Consulta of the junta of state, 24-III-1650.

order to bring some of the defeated Irish to the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁵ It was consequent to this experience that he urged Philip IV to receive the resident sent by Parliament kindly.¹⁶

In March, the Parliament sent an army commanded by Blake to blockade Prince Rupert's fleet in Lisbon and, after Joao IV's refusal to allow the Englishman to attack Rupert inside the port, a strong probability arose that war would break out between England and Portugal.¹⁷ Cottington and Hyde already knew from London that the Parliament was planning to send an agent to Madrid, and they had also learnt his name, Anthony Ascham.¹⁸ Ascham had been educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. During the war, he had supported Parliament's cause from the very outset and been appointed tutor to James, Duke of York.¹⁹ Ascham and three aides embarked with Blake's fleet and, at the mouth of the Tagus, transferred into a merchant vessel to Spain, without knowing that, later that day, Blake's advance towards Lisbon would be stopped by a combination of a wind change and Portuguese cannons.²⁰

The agents of the Parliament landed at Puerto Santa Maria, close to Cadiz. There, Antonio Juan de la Cerda, Seventh Duke of Medinaceli, received them and, after a long delay due to Ascham's illness, sent a guard with him towards Madrid.²¹ In the company of the Maestro de Campo Don Diego de Moreda and four of his men, the party (Ascham, his secretary George Fisher, an Italian interpreter and former Franciscan brought up in Spain, Juan Baptista Rivas, and a servant

¹⁵ See Hyde's description of the levies, Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. V, 650–653 ff.

¹⁶ AGS, E., leg. 2526, summary of letters from François Foissott to Philip IV, 25–III–1650.

¹⁷ B. Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution, 1648–1660* (Oxford: 1989), 69 ff.

¹⁸ E. Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit. Vol. III. 16–17, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 14–IV–1650.

¹⁹ Geoff Baldwin, "Ascham, Anthony (*bap.* 1614, *d.* 1650)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed., H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.fama.us.es:80/view/article/731> (accessed July 7, 2008); Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 8.

²⁰ Capp, *Cromwell's Navy...*, op. cit., 69 ff.; NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 69–84, account of George Fisher, 30–IX–1651.

²¹ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Consulta of the Council of State, 30–IV–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, Duke of Medinaceli to Jerónimo de la Torre, 17–IV–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, Duke of Medinaceli to Philip IV, 17–IV–1650; NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 29–32, letter of Anthony Ascham, 5–V–1650; NA, SP94, leg. 43, f. 23, Anthony Ascham to Bradshaw, 1–XI–1649.

called Thomas Griffini) left Puerto Santa Maria on 17 May for Madrid, making long detours due to the plague that was ravaging many towns and villages in Castile.²²

Cottington and Hyde did not remain inactive during this time. They warned whoever would listen that Ascham had come to the Peninsula in order to sow hatred of the Monarchy in the hearts of Englishmen and Spanish natives alike as, according to them, had been the case in the revolt in Naples three years earlier.²³ As with regard to the Royalist agents, Ascham's mission was not really welcomed in the Spanish court, even if it offered more respectful treatment of Cárdenas and benefits in the form of Irish levies to be obtained from a tacit understanding with the Commonwealth. In this context, there was little that Cottington and Hyde could do to convince the Spanish councillors and the King against their decision.²⁴ However, stronger and convincing actions designed to stop Ascham's mission were already being taken.

Political Murder

On 2 June 1650, Ascham's party arrived at Toledo.²⁵ It was already an open secret around Madrid that an ambassador from the English Republic was soon to reach the court, when a small number of Scottish, Irish and English soldiers serving in the Spanish army resolved to assassinate him.²⁶ These were John Guillim and William Spark, the actual murderers, besides Valentine Progers, John Halsal or Hasley, and William Arnet or Harnet.²⁷

Ascham's party arrived finally in Madrid at around eight in the evening on Sunday 5 June. They had been fortunate not to meet the

²² NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 69–84, account of George Fisher, 30–IX–1651; AGS, E., leg. 8375, ff. 205–208v, judicial account of Anthony Ascham's murder, 10–VI–1650.

²³ AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of the Council of State about letters of Cárdenas, 10–V–1650.

²⁴ AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 23–V–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, Francis Cottington and Edward Hyde, 27–V–1650.

²⁵ NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 69–84, relation of George Fisher, 30–IX–1651.

²⁶ E. Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 10. See also on the evolution of the resort to political violence in England, which evolves departing from a chivalric tradition: James, M., *English Politics and the Concept of Honour 1485–1642* (Oxford: 1978).

²⁷ AGS, E., leg. 8375, ff. 205–208v, judicial relation of Anthony Ascham's murder, 10–VI–1650; NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 35–38, relation of Laurence Chambers, 31–VIII–1650.

soldiers who had left the town in order to murder the agent on his way to Madrid, due to the fact that they had arrived by a different road.²⁸ Once in Madrid, the Maestro de Campo, Diego de Moreda, lodged them in a guesthouse in Caballero de Gracia Street.²⁹ The night passed without any disturbance and, the next morning, the secretary, George Fisher, went out in search of an English merchant residing in Madrid called Marston, who, according to Fisher, was the sole Englishman in the city who was favourable to the Commonwealth.³⁰ In any case, Fisher came back with Marston and another English merchant with whom he shared his lodgings, Laurence Chambers. Ascham complained bitterly to them of the great danger in which he found himself in his residence, without a guard and lacking even locks or bolts.³¹ Hence, Marston and Childers found new lodgings for him, which were made ready for a move that very same day. Meanwhile, waiting for the royal guard promised by the secretary of state Gerónimo de la Torre to come, the Italian interpreter Rivas insisted on eating at the Caballero de Gracia inn.³²

The party of soldiers that had missed their target the day before, knowing both that Ascham had safely arrived and where he was lodged, set up a team of assassins. Going towards Caballero de Gracia, they met with Henry Progers, one of the servants of Cottington and Hyde, whose house in calle de Alcalá was very close by. A group of six reached the guesthouse. Two guarded the outside door; the other four entered the house, where two waited at the top of the stairs to ensure that nobody came up. John Guillim and William Spark entered the room in which Rivas, Ascham and the servant Griffini, who later related this part of the story, were having their lunch. One of the soldiers signalled as if to salute Ascham, who rose from his chair to meet him. Perceiving the others outside the door and sensing the danger, he then moved back towards a side table where two or three pairs of pistols and some carbines lay. Before he could reach these, one of the soldiers moved closer to him, grabbed his hair and, crying 'traitor', stabbed him to death using a stiletto. Rivas, hoping to save his life, ran

²⁸ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 10.

²⁹ NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 69–84, relation of George Fisher, 30–IX–1651.

³⁰ NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 69–84, relation of George Fisher, 30–IX–1651.

³¹ This detail is mentioned by Chambers, NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 35–38, account of Laurence Chambers, 31–VIII–1650, although omitted by Fisher. Also AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 7–VI–1650.

³² NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 35–38, account of Laurence Chambers, 31–VIII–1650.

into the room. However, the soldiers, fearing that he would give the alarm, wounded him badly in the belly, and he was later found dead with his head against the door. Only Griffini, who had panicked and cried incessantly, was spared and left unharmed.³³

At this moment, it was the murderers turn to panic and they fled the inn, going straight to the house of the Venetian ambassadors in search of sanctuary, which was refused to all of them except one. They then entered the nearby Hospital of San Andres, designated for Flemish nationals at the Spanish court. There, they were surrounded by the *alcaldes de casa y corte*, and five of the six culprits were arrested, the other managing to escape thanks to the help of Spanish friends.³⁴ According to Fisher's account, news of the assassination spread quickly from there, reaching Philip IV even before Gerónimo de la Torre had informed him of Ascham's arrival at court.³⁵

This was neither the first nor the last time a diplomatic envoy of the English Parliament would receive brutal treatment. Isaac Dorislaus had been murdered by a group of Royalists at his inn in The Hague in May 1649. The States General, after sending a formal expression of regret to London, had made no attempt to bring the assassins to justice, although their identity had been well known. In response, the Parliament had been able to do little more than threaten retaliation against Royalists in their hands, since the murder had coincided with the repression of the Levellers, and rumours had flourished about plans to assassinate Cromwell.³⁶ There were further cases of violence against agents of the parliament at foreign courts, which put diplomatic relations on the brink of war, such as the precipitate exit from Lisbon of Carlos Veinte, in July 1650, by night and disguised, driven by fear of being brought under arrest by Joao IV. Despite this incident severely straining Anglo-Portuguese relations, it was not the last occasion on

³³ NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 35–38, account of Laurence Chambers, 31–VIII–1650.

³⁴ For the working of justice see: J.L. de las Heras Santos, *La Justicia Penal De Los Austrias En La Corona De Castilla* (Salamanca: 1991).

³⁵ NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 69–84, account of George Fisher, 30–IX–1651.

³⁶ Margo Todd, "Dorislaus, Isaac (1595–1649)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed., H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online edition, ed., Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.fama.us.es:80/view/article/7832> (accessed 7 July, 2008); Abbott, W.C., *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: 1939), 75–76; Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. II. lxxv–lxxviii, 'consideraciones importantes a pesar en el caso de los caballeros ingleses ahora en Prision' VII–1650.

which violence threatened on English envoy in Portugal.³⁷ In 1656, an English agent was shot by two carabines, although by that time Joao IV had no other option than to take the side of the agent of the Lord Protector.³⁸

The murder of Ascham, however, would have important international consequences, forcing the Spanish Monarchy to abandon its decade-long ambiguous, comfortable and beneficial neutrality in relation to the British and Irish conflict. Yet, both the Royalists and Parliamentarians had done their best to achieve exactly this, each to their own benefit. Thus, the murder of Ascham and its consequences cast a long and dark shadow over Anglo-Spanish relations, and strained relations with the several diplomatic legates in Madrid and the Roman Church, due to questions of moral authority and privileges of diplomatic immunity. With their disparate resources and tactics, both the English Parliament and the Royalists would have to use all their influence and persuasive powers to navigate the crisis brought about by Ascham's murder.

Exile politics at work

From the very beginning, Philip IV and his councillors were only too aware of the seriousness of the situation caused by the death of Ascham. They were also conscious that both Royalist and Parliamentarian agents at the Spanish court would try to benefit from the affair in order to direct the enmity of the Spanish Monarchy towards their respective rivals. On the one hand, George Fisher tried to ensure that justice would be done. This, as he and the Parliament understood it, implied the condemning to death of Ascham's killers, and they were ready to threaten the strongest retaliation in order to see this achieved. On the other hand, Cottington and Hyde did their best to protect the lives of the prisoners and to obtain their freedom. If their activity would lead to a declaration of hostilities between the Commonwealth and the Spanish Monarchy, that could hardly be detrimental for the interests

³⁷ Archives Generales du Royaume, secretariat d'état et guerre, leg. 377, fol. 18–21, Cárdenas, Mavezzi and Velada to Philip IV, 6–VII–1640.

³⁸ Biblioteca Ajuda (Lisboa), Ms. 44–XIII–32, ff. 110, resolution of Joao IV, 12–V–1656, f. 110, edict of Joao IV, 13–V–1656.

of their master. In this situation, the Spanish Monarchy had to move carefully in order to avoid a new, undesired, war.

However, there were other factors and considerations, moral and legalistic, and a whole field of possibilities for political action. In accordance with the severity of the situation, the first decision by the Council of State after Ascham's death was taken that very same midnight: an order to seal the ports of the Northern coast, from San Sebastian to Galicia, in order to avoid spreading news of the event.³⁹ The same day, the *alcalde de casa y corte* of the fifth room, Fernando Guevara Altamirano, who had arrested the culprits, brought Fisher and Griffini to his house, and took possession of all the papers and instructions in Ascham's possession, which were later returned to Fisher by secretary of state Gerónimo de la Torre.⁴⁰ Thus, legal procedures against the murderers began without delay.

The day after the murder, Tuesday 7 June, a plenary meeting of the Council of State took place in order to analyse the situation. It considered the murder '*uno de los mas graves*' business of the monarchy, especially because the Englishman had journeyed with the permission and protection of the Spanish King.⁴¹ The council and the King approved quick measures to take care of the two survivors and ordered the council of Castile to judge the case as soon as possible. Regarding next steps, everyone agreed that it was necessary to condemn the culprits as soon as possible. In addition, letters had to be sent to Cárdenas, not only with information about what had happened, but with news of the quick and decisive measures being taken to punish the murderers and with an invitation to the parliament to send a new agent to Madrid, who would be kindly received and thoroughly protected. As proof of goodwill, it was suggested to send Griffini with the letters to Cárdenas, in the hope that he could bear witness to the innocence of the Spanish Monarchy in the crime and its use of justice in dealing with the perpetrators. It was also resolved to take good care of George Fisher and treat him according to the rank of the deceased, until the parliament should send a replacement. Regarding the bodies, that of Rivas, being Catholic, would have an honourable burial paid by the

³⁹ AGS, E., leg. 2526, note 5-VI-1650.

⁴⁰ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Alonso Mendez de Saboy, 5-VI-1650; NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 69-84, relation of George Fisher, 30-IX-1651; AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state with letter of Fernando de Guevara Altamirano, 19-VI-1650.

⁴¹ AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 7-VI-1650.

King. The body of Ascham, however, would be interred in the court of the inn where he had died, since as a Protestant he could not be buried in any Catholic cemetery, although, in fact, the body was later allowed to be brought back to England when Fisher returned.⁴²

Regarding the real authors of the plot, the council was very suspicious of Cottington and Hyde and, with respect to ultimate responsibility, of France. The two ambassadors were quick to send a letter to Philip IV swearing that they regretted the event and had had no previous knowledge of it. Yet, the president of the council of Castile, who was hearing the case of the murderers, advised putting a guard on the Royalist ambassadors, while the council debated about which measure to take if their participation in the event was proven, with a majority thinking it better not to allow the murderers to accuse them.⁴³ Some days later, Francisco de Melo and the marquis of Velada stated that there were increasing reasons to believe that Cottington was the instigator and, in November, the marquis of Valparaíso mentioned as definitive information that he and Hyde had conceived the murders.⁴⁴ According to Hyde, Haro had told Cottington and himself that he intended to get to the bottom of the subject, and threatened exemplary punishment for its instigator whoever this was.⁴⁵ It was finally suggested to put a guard of twelve soldiers around the ambassadors' house, on the pretext of protecting their security from supporters of the parliament who might seek revenge, and to appoint spies to watch their movements.⁴⁶

⁴² AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 7–VI–1650; Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. II. 542–543, Francis Cottington and Edward Hyde to Charles II, 21–VI–1650.

⁴³ AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 7–VI–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 9–VI–1650. See also: AGS, E., leg. 2526, President of the Council of Castile to Philip IV, 15–VI–1650.

⁴⁴ 'entre tanto le parece se debe reparar mucho en la Impresión que va tomando en los animos de todos que esta accion fue movida de Cotinton' AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 9–VI–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, Consulta of state, 2–XI–1650.

⁴⁵ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 12–13.

⁴⁶ AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 7–VI–1650; nevertheless, the danger of violence was real, and it was feared that acts of violence could result from those supporting the parliament and those Charles II as admitted and feared by the council of state, AGS, E., leg. 2526, President of the Council of Castile to Philip IV, 15–VI–1650; Hyde was also fearful about the security of his wife and children in the Low Countries, Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., Vol. II. 543–544, Edward Hyde to contesse of Morton, 21–VI–1650.

Among the many other tasks to be carried out as a result of Ascham's murder, the matter of the text which Cárdenas had to present to the English Parliament was, from the diplomatic point of view, the most difficult. The objective was to send an official letter but without recognising the Parliament as a sovereign body, and avoiding mentioning the word 'Republic', taking as an example the way in which the Polish parliament was addressed. It had also been desired to send news of the murder together with an account of the justice given to the culprits. However, it seemed that the trial would take longer than expected, and Philip IV did not desire to alter the judicial procedure.⁴⁷

'This accident hath been very unfortunate to our business' confessed Hyde to the Royalist secretary of state Nicholas on 20 June, since 'we must now sit still without pressing them' there being some 'malicious spirits' in the Spanish court 'which would beget an opinion, that we were privy to this mad action'.⁴⁸ He sensed the councillors' fears of retaliation by the Parliament against the person of Cárdenas, and felt that the loss 'no doubt promises great matters against France and Portugal'.⁴⁹ Yet, as has been seen, the council and the king still hoped to keep scrupulously neutral between Charles II and the Parliament, and all their actions in this business were directed to that end. Indeed, Cottington and Hyde did all that was in their power to pressure the Spanish King and his councillors about the fate of the murderers. As Hyde later remembered, they could not openly defend them; nevertheless, they did not want the new English Republic to be treated as if the dead men had been public ministers, rather than as traitors and rebels.⁵⁰

The Royalist ambassadors already possessed a non-negligible asset in their hands: the people of Madrid had unanimously declared themselves in favour of the killers. This had occurred spontaneously, without any incitement from the ambassadors, on the very day of the murder. As Hyde related later in his history, he and Cottington had

⁴⁷ AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 8-VI-1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 9-VI-1650.

⁴⁸ Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. III. 21-22, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 20-VI-1650.

⁴⁹ Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. III. 21-22, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 20-VI-1650.

⁵⁰ Nowhere in the documentation have I found a confirmation of the councillors' fears that the ambassadors and France had orchestrated the murder in order to strain the Spanish Monarchy's relations with the English Republic.

left the town the day Ascham met his death, to take the air. Receiving the news that an ambassador of England had been murdered, they had returned quickly to their house in Madrid. There, they had found their street, calle de Alcalá, one of the broadest in the town, blocked by a great number of people who had gathered there in the belief that it was one of them who had been killed. According to Hyde, the people had not dispersed until both Cottington and Hyde were seen on a balcony and cheered by the crowd.⁵¹ Not only that, but the Council of State had also been aware of the sympathy with which the murderers were regarded among the people, and feared public disorders if they were to be publicly punished.⁵²

In order to influence the common people, the judges, the councillors and the King, by 20 June, Hyde had written a pamphlet in Latin (translated into Spanish) about the considerations to be taken into account in the case of the English gentlemen now in prison.⁵³ In their attempt to influence the Spanish ministers, he and Cottington had found precious support in the small foreign diplomatic community residing at the Spanish court. As Hyde remembered years later, the Madrid court was renowned for its strict order and protocol, and the privileges of foreign ambassadors were highly respected and zealously defended. Since the reign of Philip II, one of those privileges consisted in the right to grant asylum.⁵⁴ Hyde recalled a sense of comradeship, mutual respect and solidarity among foreign legate houses. When one of them received arbitrary treatment, the others ran to offer them their support and mediation in order to amend the wrong and protect the general interests of the diplomatic community.⁵⁵

Among their fellow ambassadors, that of the Venetian Republic, Pietro Basadonna, was the most openly supportive of Cottington and

⁵¹ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 13–15.

⁵² AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 7–VI–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 15–VI–1650.

⁵³ Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. III. 21–22, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 20–VI–1650; Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. II. lxvi–lxviii, ‘consideraciones importantes a pesar en el caso de los caballeros ingleses ahora en Prision’ VII–1650; see: A.J. Loomie, “The Publication of Sir Edward Hyde’s *consideraciones* at Madrid in June 1650”, *Recusant History*, 19 (1989), 447–59.

⁵⁴ P.S. Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II* (New Brunswick: 1965), 131–132.

⁵⁵ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 14–15.

Hyde.⁵⁶ This was not mere comradeship at work, since the Venetians were greatly interested in the English Royalists' desire to broker a peace between the Spanish and French crowns.⁵⁷ It must also be taken into account that the murderers, after committing their crime, had made with haste to the nearby Venetian embassy, which had accepted the duty of protecting Henry Progers due to his membership of the Royalist ambassadors' staff, and helped in his escape.⁵⁸ The Royalists considered support from the Papacy important too. Gulio Rospigliosi, papal nuncio in Madrid since 1644, is described in many sources as a generous, learned and extremely affable character, who would, later in life, succeed Alexander VII in Peter's chair as Clement IX (1667–1669).⁵⁹ Although it was not allowed by the rules of the court of Rome to make or receive visits from English ambassadors, the nuncio treated them reciprocally as well as with every courtesy each time they met, and exchanged messages of respect and affection.⁶⁰ The Venetian Ambassador in Madrid, Basadonna, who was later to be ambassador in Rome, and in 1673 was made Cardinal, played the role of middle-man in this.⁶¹ Indeed, Rome's and Venice's interests ran together in this aspect, since Innocent X and Rospigliosi were as favourable as the Venetians towards a Franco-Spanish peace that would unite the Catholic forces of the continent against the Turkish threat. Rospigliosi had collaborated on this subject with Basadonna and his predecessor Guistiniani.⁶² Basadonna even told Hyde and Clarendon that the nuncio had spoken strongly to the King and Luis de Haro in order to have the prisoners returned to the authority of the Church, and had put so much pressure upon the conscience of the King that he had somehow extracted a promise that they would not be executed.⁶³

⁵⁶ Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. II. 515, Francis Cottington and Edward Hyde to Henry Jermyn, 25–II–1650; about Basadonna, his negotiations in Madrid and his attempts at rapprochement with Madrid against the Turks, in spite of the general pro-french policy of the republic, see: A.M. Ghisalberti, (dir.), *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: 1965) Pietro Basadonna and his report to the Dogue and Senate: L. Firpo, *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato* (Turin: 1979).

⁵⁷ Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. II. 527, Francis Cottington and Edward Hyde to Henry Jermyn, 18–III–1650.

⁵⁸ Havran, *Caroline Courtier...* op. cit., 173.

⁵⁹ Ghisalberti, A.M. (dir.), *Dizionario Biografico...*, op. cit., vol. XXVI, 282–293

⁶⁰ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 15–16.

⁶¹ On Pietro Basadonna, see article in: Ghisalberti, A.M. (ed.), *Dizionario Biografico...*, op. cit., vol. III, 51–53.

⁶² Ghisalberti, A.M. (ed.), *Dizionario Biografico...*, op. cit., vol. XXVI, 285–286

⁶³ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 15–16.

By the summer of 1650, the moment of crisis and breakdown had passed away. When, late in June that year, some ten vessels of Blake's Lisbon blockade fleet entered the harbour of Cadiz, the Spanish Monarchy behaved in accordance with the articles of the 1630 treaty, allowing them to buy all the necessary food and supplies, and ordering the local authorities to give them good treatment.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, Foissott sent letters from Ireland, explaining the positive reception Cromwell had given to him and the great opportunity to bring to Spain as many Irish soldiers as desired.⁶⁵ Relations between the Commonwealth and the Spanish Monarchy seemed so harmonious that it was even rumoured in the Dutch Republic that Cárdenas was negotiating an alliance with the Parliament.⁶⁶

However, the situation took a new turn at the beginning of September when news spread to Madrid of a rumour in London that Ascham's murderers had been returned to the church.⁶⁷ This put both Cárdenas' and Spanish neutrality into great danger, especially if the delay in the murder trial continued, since the Parliament threatened to stop trade between the Republic and the Spanish Monarchy.⁶⁸ A junta was organised to study the matter, but it was soon decided that every satisfaction should be given to Fisher, offering him the body of Ascham inside a lined box and even a loan of money (as he had requested) to make his journey.⁶⁹ By the time Fisher left Madrid in July 1651, only one of the criminals, Valentine Progers, had ended his suffering, succumbing to fever or to the heavy burden of his fetters and the cold humidity and darkness of the dungeon in which he had been kept for more than a year.⁷⁰ A further problem for Philip IV was that, without a resolution of the trial, it was necessary for him to make a declaration to

⁶⁴ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Fernando Ruiz de Contreras to Geronimo de la Torre, 6–VII–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, Philip IV to Alonso de Cárdenas, 9–VII–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 16–VII–1650.

⁶⁵ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Consulta of the Council of State, 21–VII–1650; see the negotiations with the bishop of Clogher, AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 2–VIII–1650.

⁶⁶ AGS, E., leg. 8376, ff. 25–27, Antonio Brun to Philip IV, 10–VIII–1650.

⁶⁷ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Cárdenas to Philip IV, 4–VIII–1650.

⁶⁸ AGS, E., leg. 2528, junta of the posada of the president, 4–IX–1650; See also Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 16; AGS, E., leg. 2526, account regarding the consultas about England, 7–IX–1650.

⁶⁹ AGS, E., leg. 2170, Consulta of the junta of state, 15–IX–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, Consulta of the junta of state, 15–IX–1650; AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of the Council of State, 1–XII–1650.

⁷⁰ AGS, E., leg. 2528, Guillermo Sparque and his consorts to Philip IV, 19–IX–1651 (there are three slightly different versions of this document).

the Parliament although, if the letter was addressed with the titles the English Republic demanded, it would mean recognition of the legitimacy of their government.⁷¹

Elsewhere, the international context was still more complex. The recognition which the province of Holland had given to the English parliament was only a facet of its growing conflict with William II of Orange. Inside the United Provinces, great internal tensions were pointing, on the one hand, in the direction of a breach with the English Republic in defence of the Stuart dynasty and, on the other, towards keeping peace with England for the sake of commerce, regardless of who ruled.⁷² The former group gathered around William II, his dependents and those with Stuart connections, while the mercantile provinces of Holland and Zeeland attempted every means to keep the United Provinces away from the war policy of the Stadholder against the English parliament. With this information in their hands, the Spanish Council of State feared that William II '*tan poderoso y tan absoluto*' would use Spanish recognition of the English Republic as a pretext to declare war with the support of Mazarin.⁷³

In the course of three days from Friday 28 October until Sunday 30 October, the plenary Council of State discussed '*largo tiempo*' so as to analyse all the documentation relating to the English problems, '*mas importante y grave que se ha podido y se puede ofrecer*'. But it was not until the end of the month that a final resolution was taken.⁷⁴ The length of the deliberations is symptomatic, not only of the importance but also of the variety and complexity of the elements surrounding Ascham's death, and the deep problems it posed for Philip IV. On the one hand, the Catholic monarch desired to keep '*la observancia de la entera justicia*' even if it was, according to the Count of Monterrey, to have behaved with '*flaqueça grande en su exercicio y cortas letras*'.⁷⁵ This was further complicated by the clear attempt made by the ecclesiastical authorities to claim the murderers for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was finally obtained from the Council of Castile.⁷⁶ Thence it

⁷¹ AGS, E., leg. 2170, memorial of the Council of State, I-1650.

⁷² See: M. Herrero Sánchez, *El Acercamiento Hispano-Neerlandés (1648-1678)* (Madrid: 2000); AGS, E., leg. 2170, Antonio Brun to Philip IV, 25-III-1650; AGS, E., leg. 2170, consulta of the Council of State, 4-VI-1650.

⁷³ AGS, E., leg. 2170, memorial of the Council of State, I-1650.

⁷⁴ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Consulta of state, 2-XI-1650.

⁷⁵ *Idem*.

⁷⁶ *Idem*.

became almost impossible that the Parliament would receive the satisfaction of seeing the murderers condemned to death. On the contrary, it seemed, thanks to ecclesiastical intervention, quite probable that they would be freed.

Having hoped that a speedy sentence would settle its problems with the English parliament, the Council of State found it necessary instead to delay any resolution favourable to the murderers, carrying the case even before the Pope if necessary. Philip IV completely refused to alter or modify the ordinary course of justice, '*queriendo antes aventurar su Monarquía que consentir se obrase contra su observancia*'⁷⁷. If speedy and forceful justice could not be applied to placate the English Republic, it would be necessary to explain the reasons to the Parliament and to send credentials to Cárdenas for this, even if, to do so, as has already been stated, would mean *de facto* recognition of its legitimacy. Philip IV was also most reluctant to go back on his recognition of Charles II for reasons of the justice of supporting a crowned head against rebels and the kinship relations between the Spanish King and the Stuarts through Philip's late wife.

On 21 November, the Spanish court discussed some letters, sent by Cárdenas two months earlier. In them, he had reported Cromwell's victory over the Scots and that the Parliament had denied Spanish Ambassadorial immunities, due to the envoy's lack of credentials from Philip IV. Cárdenas had also made it clear that the Parliament would not accept anything less than recognition as a sovereign Republic and, even if they received the Spanish king's credentials, he was not sure that it would be sufficient for them.⁷⁸ This time, it was decided to send the necessary letter without delay and that Cárdenas should attempt to obtain an alliance against the French and the Portuguese.

Finally, orders were to be given to Cottington and Hyde to end their embassy and to leave the Spanish court.⁷⁹ Although courtly civility was soon restored on both sides, Cottington and Hyde quickly understood the message: 'our work is at an end' wrote Hyde to Nicholas.⁸⁰ In January 1651, the two men prepared to leave their post fearing that the urgency of the Spanish authorities regarding their departure was

⁷⁷ AGS, E., leg. 2526, Resolutions of Philip IV about the consulta, 13–XI–1650.

⁷⁸ AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 21–XI–1650.

⁷⁹ AGS, E., leg. 2526, consulta of state, 6–XII–1650.

⁸⁰ Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...op. cit.*, vol. III. 24–26, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 5–XII–1650.

a consequence of the work of a new agent of the English Republic. However, at least in Hyde's later account, it was, in fact, due to the arrival of a load of paintings and tapestries belonging to Charles I, now bought by Cárdenas in London.⁸¹ In spite of all the upsetting experiences, Cottington, a septuagenarian, had no desire to hazard himself in a new journey, and hoped to end his days in the country in which he had begun his career.⁸² He was thus allowed by Don Luis de Haro to remain in Spain, but as a private individual and not as a minister of Charles II, and not at court: Philip IV agreed an annual pension of 1,500 ducats as a gracious gesture to one of the great pillars of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations in his twilight years. The two ambassadors were also granted 50,000 pieces of eight for Charles II from which they could deduct their expenses, although the money arrived after they had left on 6 March 1651.⁸³ Thus, Hyde headed north, desiring to meet his family in Antwerp, and from there would commence his rise at Charles II's court. Cottington, meanwhile, travelled towards Valladolid where, after a week in the English Catholic College, he moved to the very same house, according to Hyde, in which he had lived during his first journey to Spain in 1605.⁸⁴ He was to die there in June 1652 and be entombed in the old Chapel of the English college in that city until, in 1678, he was exhumed by his descendants, transported to England and subsequently interred again next to his wife in St. Paul's Chapel, Westminster Abbey.⁸⁵

Hyde relates in his *History* that, some time after the murder of Ascham (when Cottington and he had gone to speak with the *valido* for a completely different reason) Don Luis de Haro, changing topic suddenly, had confessed his envy of the English nation and his admiration for the bravery of the English soldiers now in prison. Haro had lamented how many disgraces the Spanish Monarchy would have been spared if it had courageous men who would dare put their lives in mortal danger to purify the honour of their King with the blood of rebels.⁸⁶ Perhaps this moral success was the major achievement of Hyde's and Cottington's embassy? They had done all they could to

⁸¹ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 24–27.

⁸² Hyde, *State Papers collected by Edward...* op. cit., vol. III. 24–26, Edward Hyde to Edward Nicholas, 5–XII–1650.

⁸³ Havran, *Caroline Courtier...* op. cit., 174–175.

⁸⁴ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 31–34.

⁸⁵ Havran, *Caroline Courtier...* op. cit., 177.

⁸⁶ Hyde, *Histoire de la Rebellion...*, op. cit., vol. VI, 17–18.

obtain Philip IV's support for their cause, and they could count some minor successes in this. It had been impossible to divert the Spanish Monarchy from its convenient and beneficial neutrality ever since the last desperate attempt to obtain an alliance in 1640 had failed. Besides, if they had had something to do with Ascham's murder in the hope of worsening relations between the young Republic and the Spanish monarch, as many in the Council of State feared, their attempt had backfired. But, at least they were able to put all their resources, friends and inventiveness, especially among the diplomatic community, to work towards aiding the murderers. This can be considered a success in itself. One was saved right away, and the others, except Valentine Progers, who had died in prison, were restored in 1653 to the church from which they had been taken, and were supported, as Hyde later reminisced, by powerful friends. All of them escaped, and only one, William Spark, the sole Protestant, was again captured and finally executed in January 1654. In contrast to this supportive environment for the Royalist cause, the powerless George Fisher, who was literally a prisoner due to the threat to his life, could only forward the Parliament's complaints to Philip IV.

The pressure that the Royalist ambassadors had been able to exert had always had a limit and they had not been able to pass the barrier of the *arcana imperii*. All the councillors and the King himself found the English Parliament's revolt against the sovereign ruler and the final execution of the latter simply revolting. It was even more repugnant to have to officially recognise the Commonwealth, when only a province like Holland, not even the States General, had dared to take that step. At the same time, most of them found the revenge executed by the murderers praiseworthy, although unfortunate and unwise in its timing and location. However, it was above all Philip IV's sense of justice and his categorical refusal to alter the normal legal procedure, even at the risk of war, which prevented the Council of State from issuing a speedy and exemplary punishment for the grave offence made to the '*derecho de gentes*'.

On the other hand, Philip IV found it advisable to maintain neutrality between the contending parties in England. Similarly, at home, both Fisher on the one hand and Cottington and Hyde on the other were kept reasonably satisfied and left with hope of a favourable resolution to their respective business. Nonetheless, both the Parliamentarians and the Royalists, sooner or later recognised that this display of friendliness and apparent frankness, of which the accomplished courtier

Don Luis de Haro was master, was no more than a delaying technique which suited the Spanish Monarchy's neutralist interest.⁸⁷ Ascham's murder preceded by a few months the crushing of Royalist hopes for a counter-revolution in Scotland, of its irritant naval power in the hands of Prince Rupert, and the loss of its most ardent and active continental supporter, William II Orange. Desiring not to offer more discourtesies to the Royalists than strictly necessary, so that they were even provided with some money for their master, Cottington and Hyde had been sent away from the Spanish court.

It was nevertheless clear that, after a decade of neutrality in English affairs, the Spanish Monarchy again pinned its hopes on a settlement of its European conflicts by means of an English alliance. The political participation of exiles had been crucial to this outcome. The Ascham case, which is just an example, should lead us to understand exile groups not merely as passive products of internal conflicts expelled to an outer world in which they have no say. In many instances, religious and educational institutions were created in order to welcome and support such foreigners, who also found ready employment in a military career. The exiles of the civil war period benefited from this relatively supportive environment in the French and Spanish monarchies. Many of them, once they could provide for their personal needs, maintained an active part in the conflict that had driven them out of their homes. The best way to do so was to attempt to influence the foreign policy of their host monarchies. For this, they resorted, as presented here, to political murder, popular politics, alliances with foreign diplomats and lobbying of key politicians. This was not only the case as regards the British and during the Civil War period, but a common phenomenon of early modern European political culture, which has not yet been sufficiently explored.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ As late as April 1651, Fisher wrote bitterly to the English Council of State about the real intentions of Philip IV, which he believed to be to keep neutral while expecting that the Commonwealth would make war on France and Portugal, NA, SP94, leg. 43, ff. 65–68, George Fisher to the Council of State, 24–IV–1651.

⁸⁸ As an example, see my work: I. Pérez Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: 2008).

SCOTS IN SWEDISH BREMEN AND VERDEN (1645–1712)

Kathrin Zickermann

In the fortieth year of his life he died in that unfortunate and miserable hole of Burgk in 1654; he that had been present at so many famous battles, skirmishes and mighty attacks, and earned so much undying honour and glory therein. His loss has been grievously felt by all, and he has been wept over by two kings.¹

The above quotation concludes the memoirs of William Forbes, a Scot in Swedish service from 1634, who died during a military conflict between that kingdom and the city of Bremen twenty years later whilst in charge of the fortification of Burg.² The fact that his fate was mourned by two different monarchs—the Swedish king Charles X Gustav (1654–1660) and the Stuart king Charles II (1660–1685)—reveals Forbes's integration into the Swedish military elite as well as his sympathy for the cause of the exiled British monarch.

Given the research conducted by historians like Alexia Grosjean, it is not surprising that we find William Forbes together with other individuals of Scottish descent within the Swedish army. Scots had served that crown since the sixteenth century as common soldiers and officers, the latter often profiting from the policy of rewarding the military elite in the form of land donations and ennoblement.³ The

¹ Thomas Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh: 1907) 128; Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, *The House of Forbes* (Bruceton Mills: 1987) 201. The memorial is preserved in the library in Lund. The author of its last lines is unknown. The original German text has been published in Detlev Pleiss, 'Das Kriegsfahrtenbuch des schwedischen Offiziers William Forbes. Von seiner Landung an der Unterelbe im Sommer 1634 bis zu seiner Rückkehr nach Stade im Winter 1649/50', in *Stader Jahrbuch*, Neue Folge 85 (1995), 133–153.

² Tayler, *House of Forbes*, 201; Henning Eichberg, *Militär und Technik: Schwedenfestungen des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden* (Düsseldorf: 1976) 36.

³ Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003); Alexia Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship in the Swedish Empire, 1574–1700', in A. Mackillop and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800* (Leiden: 2003); Alexia Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden 1656–1658', in Steve Murdoch and A. Mackillop, eds., *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550–1900* (Leiden: 2002) 61–82; Alexia Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?',

employment of Scots by the Swedish monarchs had reached its peak after the entry of the Swedes into the Thirty Year's War when their army provided an outlet for military officials motivated to serve the cause of the Stuart princess Elizabeth, married to the 'winter king' Frederick V.⁴ Moreover, Scottish involvement in Swedish service did not stop after peace had been concluded in 1648, but continued, with Scots serving in a variety of functions, not only in Sweden itself but also in newly acquired territories in Western Pomerania and in Bremen-Verden. This was even true for the period of the Cromwellian occupation which changed the Scottish-Swedish relationship significantly, providing a difficult situation for Scottish Royalist soldiers in the service of the Swedish Crown, now an ally of the Protector.⁵

Despite this previous research, a detailed study on Scots in military and civic functions within Swedish Bremen-Verden is so far missing. It is true that some Scotsmen working for the Swedish government have received some attention from scholars like Klaus-Richard Böhme, Fritz Danner, Henning Eichberg or Beate-Christine Fiedler in their analyses of the nature of Swedish civic and military administration in the duchies.⁶ However, these historians largely ignore their origin or only mention it in passing without analysing its significance. This may be justified in some respects as the lengthy service of Scottish officers in Sweden and their ennoblement meant that they often became integrated into the Swedish army and society to a large extent.⁷ Nevertheless, there is overwhelming evidence that Scots in foreign service did not lose interest in their home country despite their absence from it, which could last for several decades or

in Steve Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden: 2001), 143–172; Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm: 1962). For older research see Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm: 1962); Thomas Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh: 1907).

⁴ Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?', 148–151; Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 76.

⁵ A Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 61–83.

⁶ Klaus-Richard Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen 1645–1676: Die schwedische Krone als deutsche Landesherrin* (Uppsala: 1967); Fritz Danner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stader Garnison* (Stade: 1987); Henning Eichberg, *Militär und Technik: Schwedenfestungen des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden* (Düsseldorf: 1976); Beate-Christine Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung der Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden in der Schwedenzeit 1652–1712: Organisation und Wesen der Verwaltung* (Stade: 1987).

⁷ Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?', 144.

even a lifetime.⁸ Factors like common nationality or kinship relations undoubtedly played a role in establishing long lasting and meaningful networks at home and abroad. Such links were by no means simplistic or always visible. In fact, it has been convincingly shown that Scots abroad adopted multiple identities which increased the pool of contacts an individual could refer to for establishing vital links towards his or her social advancement.⁹ This essay thus analyses two different aspects of Scottish involvement within the Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden. Firstly, it identifies Scottish military and some civic officials and examines their significance. Secondly, it analyses many of the networks they participated in, that is, their links among each other, with other Swedish-born individuals, as well as with the indigenous population of the duchies.

In order to understand the conditions of Swedish administration in Bremen-Verden we have, firstly, to turn to the territories themselves and their acquisition by Sweden. The archbishopric of Bremen and the bishopric of Verden proved to be of military and economic importance to a number of local and foreign powers during the early modern period and played a particular role in the struggle between Denmark-Norway and Sweden for hegemony within Northern Germany and the Baltic. Since the late sixteenth century, Bremen had been governed by Johann Friedrich of Holstein-Gottorf (1596–1634), a relative of the Swedish King Gustav II Adolf (1611–1632), whereas Verden had been under the control of Philip Sigismund of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1586–1623). In the context of his expansive policy in Northern Germany, the Danish King Christian IV (1588–1648) succeeded in having his son Frederick elected as coadjutor in Bremen in 1621 with the right of succession to the archbishop's seat. The following year, Frederick was also elected as coadjutor in Verden and became the administrator of this territory too after the death of Philip Sigismund in 1623. The Danish-Imperial war (*Kejserkrig*) ended Danish plans in the territories and Frederick lost his bishopric as well as his successive right to Bremen. Nevertheless, he did not have to decline his rights formally in the Peace of Lübeck of 1629 which ended Danish partici-

⁸ Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006) 49–83.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

pation in the 'Thirty Years' War'.¹⁰ Although, during the conflict, the archbishop of Bremen, Johann Friedrich, had supported the Imperial side, the Emperor decided to give control over Bremen to his own son. Thus, in June 1631, Johann Friedrich formed an alliance with Sweden in order to regain the territory. The following year Swedish troops marched into Bremen and Verden and effectively took control whilst restoring Johann Friedrich as archbishop. Johann Friedrich died in September 1634 when Sweden's military power was at a low after Gustav II Adolf's death at Lützen (6 November 1632) and the battle at Nördlingen (6 September 1634). Hence, the Swedish Crown did not manage to protect their interests in Bremen-Verden but had to accept the election of the Danish prince Frederick as the archbishop's successor and Swedish troops were pulled out of the territories against financial compensation.¹¹

It was only during the Danish-Swedish War (1643–1645) that Sweden managed to regain Bremen-Verden. The rivalry between Denmark-Norway and Sweden in Northern Germany was one of the reasons responsible for the outbreak of this military conflict which saw the Swedish General Hans Christopher von Königsmarck occupying all fortified places in the territories by the middle of March 1645. Although the war eventually resulted in the peace of Brömsebro (23 August 1645), the question of control over Bremen-Verden was referred to separate talks in Stockholm which were inconclusive, and the issue was only resolved at the negotiations in Osnabrück which ended in the Peace of Westphalia (1648).¹² At the peace talks, the Swedish negotiators aimed for two different goals: territorial and financial retributions for their war effort as well as the security and protection of their victory through territorial gains. After Sweden's successful occupation of Bremen and Verden in 1645, the territories were firmly included in the Swedish demands alongside Pomerania, and Wismar. Bremen and Verden were both thought to be of value for the Swedish Crown, particularly as they promised control over the mouths of the rivers Elbe and Weser and thus commercial and mili-

¹⁰ Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Der Regierungsbezirk Stade: Verwaltungsbezirk und historische Landschaftsbildung', in Carl Haase, ed., *Niedersachsen: Territorien, Verwaltungseinheiten, geschichtliche Landschaften* (Göttingen: 1971) 219.

¹¹ Fritz Dickmann, *Der Westfälische Frieden* (Münster: 1959) 218.

¹² Dickmann, *Der Westfälische Frieden*, 219; Frost, *The Northern Wars 1558–1721* (Harlow: 2000), 138.

tary advantages, especially against Denmark-Norway.¹³ In Osnabrück, the Swedish Crown succeeded in gaining the desired archbishopric and bishopric as well as territories in Western Pomerania and Wismar. Both Bremen and Verden were made into secular duchies and integrated into the Swedish realm as provinces, with the town of Stade becoming the seat of the new government. Thus, the Swedish monarchs became vassals of the Emperor with a seat in the Imperial diet as well as in the diets of Lower Saxony (for Bremen) and Westphalia (for Verden). In return, the Swedish Crown had to respect the traditional rights and privileges of the German Estates (*Landstände*). Judicially the Emperor granted Sweden the 'privilegium de non appellando' on the condition that a high court had to be established within the Swedish territories in Germany.¹⁴ The status of the city of Bremen—a commercial hub which had belonged to the archbishopric—was left unclear. Sweden aimed to include the trading hub at the river Weser into its territory contradicting the plans of the Emperor who on 1 June 1646 formally granted the city independent status within the Holy Roman Empire (*Linzer Diplom*). This privilege was not recognised by Sweden and thus, the city's status remained disputed which led to continuous tensions and two military conflicts in 1654 and 1666.¹⁵

Once officially under its control, the Swedish Crown had to establish a new military and civic administration for Bremen and Verden based on the conditions established at Westphalia. One of the four commissioners responsible for working out this new administrative order was Alexander von Erskine (1598–1656) who was the son of a Scottish merchant in Greifswald in Pomerania.¹⁶ Despite his Swedish ennoblement in 1643 and long lasting service to the Swedish Crown and the fact that Erskine had never set foot into Scotland himself there is evidence that he felt attached to his father's country. Not only did he change his name from Eschen to the more Scottish form Erskine after

¹³ Dickmann, *Der Westfälische Frieden*, 220, 249; Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 35, 38–9; Ulf Pauli, *Det Svenska Tyskland: Sveriges tyska besittningar 1648–1815* (Malmö: 1989), 17.

¹⁴ Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 42; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 31.

¹⁵ Dickmann, *Der Westfälische Frieden*, 321; Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 40; Frost, *Northern Wars*, 201–2.

¹⁶ Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 52–3. For information on Alexander Erskine see also Beate-Christine Fiedler, 'Alexander (von) Erskine (Esken)', in Brage bei der Wieden and Jan Lokers, eds., *Lebensläufe zwischen Elbe und Weser: Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Stade: 2000) 96–98 and Bengt Hildebrand, 'Alexander Erskine', in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, XIV, 462–476.

1637 but he referred to himself as being Scottish in 1653.¹⁷ Indeed even his eldest son—a third generation Scot abroad—described Erskine as ‘a Scot in Swedish service’ in a letter to the Earl of Mar in 1681 which acknowledged the earl as head of the Swedish branch of the Erskine family.¹⁸

After having entered Swedish service in 1628, Erskine had embarked on a remarkable career resulting in his participation in the peace talks in Osnabrück in 1646 and 1647 as well as in additional negotiations in 1649 (*Nürnberg Exekutionstag*) in his capacity as *Krigspräsident* (President of War).¹⁹ Being one of four high-profile commissioners—the other three being *Rigsråd* Schering Rosenhane, General Governor Hans Christopher von Königsmarck and chancellor Johann Stucke—Erskine played a major role in the establishment of Swedish formal control over Bremen-Verden. However, although the commissioners were officially on equal terms, Rosenhane was considered to be their chairman. According to Böhme, Erskine himself was deemed to be the expert on financial issues as well as on questions relating to the situation in Pomerania. Thus, it is not surprising that Erskine also participated in a second commission in 1652 which was set up to deal with the funding of the Swedish administration in Bremen-Verden, this consisting only of himself and Königsmarck.²⁰ On 22 September 1653 Erskine was made president (*Präsident*)—a new kind of office which involved the attending of meetings of the governing council, the representation of the governor in this institution during his absence, as well as the reading and signing of any official records along with the chancellor. Furthermore, he was to preside over the highest judicial institution (*Justizkollegium*) and to inspect the other courts as well as to undertake diplomatic duties on behalf of the Swedish monarch. Not only that, but the president had to live in the city of Bremen, in order to observe that Swedish rights over the cathedral district were maintained. Thus, due to his office, Erskine united a number of significant tasks in his person demonstrating not only his importance for the administration but also the trust which was placed in him and his skills

¹⁷ Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*, 151; Hildebrand, ‘Alexander Erskine’, 464.

¹⁸ NAS, Mar and Kellie Papers, GD 124/15 f.171, 19. September 1681; Murdoch, *Network North*, 24.

¹⁹ Hildebrand, ‘Alexander Erskine’, 463.

²⁰ Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 84, 89, 122; Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 53.

by the Swedish government. His rank was underlined by the fact that he could build his very own castle on the river Schwinge, which presumably led to his commuting between this place, his residence in the city of Bremen, as well as Stade. In addition, Erskine owned a number of other estates and revenues within the duchy of Bremen, including incomes from the tithe of Bremervörde. Due to his personal wealth, he became a creditor to the Swedish crown who owned his inheritors a sum of 30,000 Imperial dollars which had been reduced to an amount of 18,672 Imperial dollars in 1662.²¹ It was not only within the duchy that Erskine held possessions. In 1650 he had established contact with the city of Bremen, his wife having given birth to a son the same year to which the senate acted as godparents, and it was within the territory of this city that Erskine had bought further estates.²² His relationship with the senate of Bremen who made a donation of 1000 ducats to him is certainly a curious one considering the tensions between the city and Sweden and it has to be assumed that the favours bestowed on him were designed to ensure the city had a sympathetic voice in the neighbouring government.²³

The status of Erskine in Bremen-Verden is important in itself, but also significant is the way he linked up with other Scots. We know that he communicated with a number of fellow countrymen in Swedish service among them Colonel and later Field Marshal Alexander Leslie, whom he met in person at Stralsund as early as 1628, where Erskine had taken over the role of Swedish agent. It is even possible that Leslie was his relative through Erskine's grandmother Elizabeth Leslie.²⁴ Other Scottish contacts of Erskine included Colonel (and later Major General) Patrick Ruthven, as well as Lieutenant General Robert Douglas.²⁵ Ruthven contacted Erskine in 1649 from Hamburg asking

²¹ Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 91; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 424, 543.

²² Staatsarchiv Bremen, Ratsarchiv, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.7, Wittheitsprotokolle 1648–1651, 236, 19 March 1650 and 271, 9 July 1650; SRA, *Bremensia* No. 54, Alexander Erskine to ?, without place/date.

²³ Staatsarchiv Bremen, Ratsarchiv, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.7, Wittheitsprotokolle 1648–1651, 282, 11 August 1650.

²⁴ SRA, Alexander Erskine's Samling, E3586, Alexander Leslie to Alexander Erskine, Hademühlen, 31 March 1636; Hildebrandt, Alexander Erskine', 465.

²⁵ SRA, Alexander Erskine's Samling, E3586, Several Letters, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, Nürnberg and Ulm, 20 March 1638–13 November 1649 and E3588, Patrick Ruthven to Alexander Erskine, Schaffstedt, 11 February 1636 and Hamburg, 3 July 1649.

him for help with a payment of money he was owed by the Swedish Crown to Colonel William Barclay referring to the fact that he and Erskine had known each other for such a long time.²⁶ In doing so he was calling on what has been described a 'network linkage of auld acquaintance' indicating a significant bond between these two men.²⁷ Both Barclay and Ruthven had been engaging themselves in a Royalist mission in Hamburg and there is proof that Erskine himself was also not unsympathetic to the cause of the Stuart king being among those Scots in Swedish service who were directly asked for assistance by Charles II in 1653 at a time when official support of the Swedish government had become unlikely due to the events in Scotland.²⁸ It is thus likely that Ruthven did not only approach Erskine due to his position but also because he knew that he could rely on him because of their common political goals. Similar to Ruthven, Robert Douglas requested assistance from Erskine albeit in different matters. Not only did he ask him to intervene and excuse him to the Count Palatinate for not having sent a certain amount of money on time, he also begged Erskine to mind his interest as well as that of his brother in law, *Rigsråd* Axel Lillie, in regard to the land donation policy of Queen Christina (1632–1654).²⁹ The Swedish monarch was notoriously short of cash and was thus rewarded and paid military and civic officials with land as well as its revenues.³⁰ Douglas, however, feared that he would not receive what he was owed and was particularly concerned with the incomes of the nunnery at Zeven—a secularised estate in the duchy of Bremen, which he had already received as a donation on 10 July 1647 in lieu of salary. He had heard that the nuns—who were allowed to remain on the property—were to keep the revenues for themselves.³¹ Douglas referred to their friendship in his letters to Erskine, which may have been cemented when both men—alongside several other Swedish officers—joined the German cultural society, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*,

²⁶ SRA, Alexander Erskine's Samling, E3586, Patrick Ruthven to Alexander Erskine, Hamburg, 3 July 1649; Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (East Linton: 2003) 152–4.

²⁷ Murdoch, *Network North*, 73–7.

²⁸ Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*, 245.

²⁹ SRA, Alexander Erskine's Samling, E3586, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, Ulm, 15 August and 20 October 1649; Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*, 245.

³⁰ Frost, *Northern Wars*, 202.

³¹ SRA, Alexander Erskine's Samling, E3586, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, Ulm, 20 October 1649; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 535; Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 47.

in the autumn of 1644 in Anhalt.³² Notwithstanding this, Douglas was also known to have been part of a Royalist Scottish network in Sweden and was among those Scots who were contacted by Charles II in 1653 for assistance. Thus, he could draw on their common support for the Stuart king when dealing with Erskine.³³ Although their political goals were not mentioned in their correspondence, Douglas and Ruthven's letters demonstrate that neither of them hesitated to approach Erskine for assistance and that they assumed that he would comply with their requests. They thus reveal part of Erskine's networks which were certainly in existence both before and after he acquired his civic positions in Bremen-Verden.

Another Scot who was in personal and written contact with Alexander Erskine and who was similarly attached to the Royalist side was the aforementioned Colonel William Forbes. His military role within Bremen-Verden has already been briefly mentioned. Forbes had embarked on a career within the Swedish army in 1634 and had enlisted in George Leslie's infantry regiment in 1635 after having followed his brother Alexander, the 11th Lord Forbes, to the continent. In 1645, he received the rank of Colonel but was wounded two years afterwards. While recovering in Nürnberg, Forbes, like Erskine and Douglas, joined the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*.³⁴ It was in October 1649 that the Colonel and his regiment arrived in Bremen, where Forbes took up his residence in Stade, apparently in a poorly equipped house.³⁵ In addition to his duties as Colonel over the regiment, Forbes took over the role as commandant of Stade for which it seems he did not receive his full salary. In May 1653 he received three donations from Queen Christina although he does not seem to have obtained any revenues from them.³⁶ However, due to his presence in Stade and his position we could reasonably assume that he must have been in

³² Klaus Conerman, *Die Mitglieder der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft 1617–1650* (Weinheim: 1985), 502–5.

³³ Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*, 245. Although he only promised private support on this occasion due to the attitude of the Swedish government in this matter this of course still proves his sympathy for the Royalist cause.

³⁴ Conermann, *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, 504–5.

³⁵ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, Axel Oxenstierna af Södermöre (hereafter AOSB), E601, William Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, Stade, 18 November 1653; SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustav Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 22 November 1649; Danner, *Stader Garnison*, 7.

³⁶ SRA, AOSB, E601, William Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, Stade, 18 November 1653; SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna af Södermöre,

contact with Alexander Erskine. We know from Forbes's correspondence with Major General and General Governor of Swedish Pomerania, Carl Gustav Wrangel, that Forbes had either met or communicated in writing with the president at the regional diet (*Landtag*) in Basdahl in December 1653. Forbes had attended this gathering in order to represent Wrangel, indicating quite a measure of trust between the men.³⁷ The meeting mainly dealt with the question of the local secular estates—whose privileges had been guaranteed in Westphalia—and their relationship with those mainly foreign individuals who had received donations from the Swedish Crown within the territories. It was the expressed wish of the Swedish monarch to merge these two groups in order to limit the power of the Swedish landowners, including Douglas and Forbes.³⁸ William Forbes informed Wrangel of difficulties with the old estates and promised to confer with the other recipients of donations in this matter. Furthermore, he referred to a dispute between Wrangel and some other Swedish landowners in Bremen-Verden, particularly with Robert Douglas—a question which was, according to Forbes, likely to be discussed at Basdahl. However, he promised to retain a neutral position regarding this conflict.³⁹ This statement demonstrates two things: firstly that a connection between Forbes and Douglas existed which was known to Wrangel. Indeed, we know that Forbes had inspected Douglas' estate in Zeven in 1650 after difficulties had arisen with the local nuns who protested vigorously against its secularisation.⁴⁰ Allegedly they had refused to provide Douglas with necessary food and other essential provisions during his visit—an issue Forbes was dismayed about. Although it is not clear if Douglas met Forbes in Bremen, it is likely that the Colonel tried to take care of Douglas property and to resolve the dispute with his visit to the nunnery.⁴¹ Given the link between Douglas and Erskine

E1048, Alexander Forbes to Erik Oxestierna, without place, 16 August 1653; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 537.

³⁷ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen, Personarkiv, E8195, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Basdahl, 8 December 1653.

³⁸ Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 193–4.

³⁹ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen, Personarkiv, E8195, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Basdahl, 8 December 1653.

⁴⁰ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustav Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 12 June 1650; Archibald Douglas, *Robert Douglas: En Krigargestalt från vår Storhetstid* (Stockholm: 1957), 142–4; Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 44.

⁴¹ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustav Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 12 June 1650.

it is probable that the latter was involved in this matter at some level too. Secondly, his apparent decision to remain neutral in the issue between Wrangel and Douglas shows that Forbes did not value his link with one of them over the other, although it is of course possible that he just pretended to assist neither of the men but secretly furthered Douglas' interests. Forbes acted in a variety of capacities for Wrangel, among other things he supervised the building of a yacht for him, and nothing suggests that he and the Swede did not form a close and significant link with each other.⁴²

Another important contact of William Forbes was undoubtedly his brother Alexander and his family. Alexander Forbes had started his career in the Swedish army in 1630 and had risen to the rank of lieutenant general. Between March and July 1651 he was present in Stade where one of his daughters, Marie, was born.⁴³ Although we do not know exactly in what capacity Alexander Forbes had arrived in the duchy, he must have met his brother in the town. Besides, it was probably during this stay in Stade that Alexander received a letter—probably from the Rigsråd Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna—with the suggestion to help him and his brother until their outstanding demands could be completely satisfied. This assistance was to include a guarantee of William's position as Colonel as well as the position as commandant of Stade for five additional years whereas Alexander was to receive a grant from the chamber of 4000 imperial dollars as well as a grant from the admiralty including ropes and 'old ships'.⁴⁴ It is not clear if this suggestion ever materialised. Nevertheless, the same year, Alexander Forbes received permission from Queen Christina to raise sunken ships in Sweden in order to collect money for Charles II. The latter must have known of this support as he asked Alexander Forbes as well as William—after the defeat of his troops in battle of Worcester (3 September 1651)—to raise further soldiers in order to support Royalist forces in Scotland.⁴⁵ This link between the Forbes brothers and the Stuart king makes a connection between them and other Royalists like Erskine or Ruthven in Bremen or the surrounding areas highly likely.

⁴² SRA, Skoklosterssamlingen II, Carl Gustav Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, Various Letters, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 12 June 1650–10 August 1650.

⁴³ Tayler, *House of Forbes*, 184.

⁴⁴ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna af Södermöre, E1048, ? to Erik Oxenstierna, without place/date.

⁴⁵ Tayler, *House of Forbes*, 184.

In turn, William Forbes was undoubtedly in contact with the commandants of the seven main fortifications in Bremen-Verden (two of whom happened to be Scots before 1654). There may be more to their appointment than coincidence. The governor of Bremervörde, James Lundie, only appears as a lieutenant in Swedish records from 1647 onwards, but it is clear that he must have acquired experience there for a considerable time before being assigned this responsible task.⁴⁶ In fact, Lundie himself referred to his lengthy service in the field of which he was no longer capable—probably due to an injury. According to his correspondence, it was Carl Gustav Wrangel who had recommended the Scot for the position in Bremervörde.⁴⁷ Since Wrangel had received a considerable donation in Bremervörde this demonstrates his trust in the skills of the officer, but unfortunately we do not know if the men had met before or if Lundie had been recommended to Wrangel by somebody else.⁴⁸ It is possible that it was William Forbes who had suggested Lundie to him as he was to work closely with the governor and was one of Wrangel's confidants.

The second fortification guarded by a Scottish governor was Buxtehude, located just a few miles from the commercial hub of Hamburg. Here, the Adjutant General Patrick More took over the command in the later 1640s.⁴⁹ He had entered Swedish service in either 1626 or 1629 and had been listed as a cavalry captain in G.M. Witzleben's regiment in 1642 becoming part of the regiment of Arvid Wittenberg in 1646. Like Forbes he received a donation, in his case of the island Krautsand, in 1646, which he was, however, to transfer to General Königsmarck after ten years. Nevertheless, Königsmarck opted to pay More 10,400 imperial dollars in August 1648 in return for his rights over the island.⁵⁰ This payment probably functioned as seed capital

⁴⁶ SRA, Rydboholmsamlingen, Wrangelska Handlingar, E7943, Various Letters, James Lundie to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade and Bremervörde, 28 August–8 May 1651; Swedish Krigsarkivet, Muster Roll, 1647/21; Grosjean, 'Scottish Governorship', 77. According to Alexia Grosjean it was usual for a Scot to have acquired the rank of colonel before becoming appointed to be a governor.

⁴⁷ SRA, Rydboholmsamlingen, Wrangelska Handlingar, E7943, James Lundie to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 28 August 1648.

⁴⁸ Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 47. Hildebrandt, 'Alexander Erskein', 476.

⁴⁹ Grosjean, 'Scottish Governorship', 59.

⁵⁰ SRA, AOSB, E661, Patrick More to Axel Oxenstierna, Buxtehude, 18 September 1646 and 30 October 1646; SRA, de la Gardiesamlingen, E1501, Patrick More to Magnus de la Gardie, Jägerdorf, 19 June 1648 and Camp outside Prague, 9 October 1648; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 256, 540, 543.

for a money lending business in which More engaged himself from the 1650s onwards. For example, in January 1655 he lent a sum of 10,000 imperial dollars to Arvid Wittenberg von Debern under whom he had served. Including interest this sum increased to 13,568 imperial dollars in 1658 by which point Wittenberg had died leaving his inheritors unable to repay More. The commandant thus extended the credit and received interest as well as a sum of 1,600 imperial dollars from Wittenberg's estate, Thedinghausen.⁵¹ These transactions involved further business contacts in the commercial centres of Bremen (city) and Hamburg.⁵²

Apart from his commercial links and Wittenberg, More was also in contact with Robert Douglas as well as with his cousin Patrick Ruthven who—as mentioned previously—was present in Hamburg in 1649 in order to further the cause of the House of Stuart, together with a number of other Scottish officers like William Barclay.⁵³ Although there is no proof that More and Ruthven met in Hamburg, it is hard to believe that they did not get in touch given the close proximity of their locations. Indeed, in February 1652, Ruthven, along with the Englishman, William Swan, and Colonel Barclay, visited More in Buxtehude on their way from Hamburg to the Netherlands. As Swan had his own horses, he stayed overnight in the governor's house whereas the other two had to take a coach leaving the governor after just one hour. Unfortunately for him, Patrick Ruthven died the following night just a few miles outside Buxtehude, his body being brought to Altkloster where Patrick More arranged for it to be sent back to Scotland, asking the Count and then High Treasurer (*Riksskattmästare*) Magnus de la Gardie to help with the costs involved.⁵⁴ Yet, the fact that the travelling party went to the trouble of visiting More and that Swan found accommodation with him highlights the close connection between these men and indicates More's sympathy for the Royalist side in the ongoing British Civil Wars, linking him furthermore to Erskine, the Forbes brothers as well as to Douglas. In fact, we know that the latter

⁵¹ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustav Wrangels Arkiv, E8423, Arvid Wittenberg to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stockholm, 8 January 1655 and Patrick More to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Oldesloe, 12 July 1658.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ James Turner, *Memoirs of his own life and times 1632–1670* (Edinburgh: 1829) 91; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 152–4.

⁵⁴ SRA, de la Gardiesamlingen, E1501, Patrick More to Magnus de la Gardie, Buxtehude, 26 February 1652.

was in correspondence with Patrick More in 1646 and it is possible that both men met during Douglas' brief visit to Zeven, given the close geographical proximity of the nunnery to Buxtehude.⁵⁵

It was in March 1654 that the Swedish Crown decided to finally attack the city of Bremen due to its contested political status. But, whereas General Königsmarck managed to occupy the rural territories belonging to Bremen and to control shipping on the River Weser, he was reluctant to launch a direct attack on the city itself. Also, diplomatic pressure on Sweden increased and thus, peace was concluded on 28 November 1654 with the assistance of envoys from various powers such as Brandenburg, Münster and Braunschweig-Lüneburg (*Stader Vergleich*). The peace conditions stated that the city had to cede some of its rural possession such as the districts of Lehe and Bederska to Sweden. More importantly, the question of Bremen's official political status remained unresolved although the city's officials were forced to pay tribute to Sweden on 6 December 1654.⁵⁶ In 1665 a dispute on the city paying tribute to the minor King Charles XI occurred which eventually led to another military conflict between Bremen and Sweden. This resulted in the peace of Habenhausen (14 November 1666) in which Bremen not only lost further territories but also had to officially give up its independent position within the Holy Roman Empire from the end of the running session of the Imperial diet until the end of the century—this, however, proved to be a pointless condition, as the session was to run until the end of the Empire in 1806.⁵⁷

The first Swedish-Bremen War of 1654 certainly had an effect on the presence of Scots in the duchies due to the loss of William Forbes. It is important to note, however, that he, as well as the over Scottish governors, were not the only Scots involved in the conflict. In 1654, a number of Scottish officers and soldiers formed part of Forbes' regiment, for example, Captain Jacob Stuart who defended a skance at Vegesack, located by the Weser, albeit unsuccessfully.⁵⁸ In fact, after his death, Forbes was replaced in his position as commandant of Stade by another Scot, Alexander Irving.⁵⁹ Irving had entered Swedish service in 1614 and then served in various forces such as the Mackay

⁵⁵ SRA, Stegeborgsamlingen II, Arvprinsen Carl Gustafs Arkiv, E128, Robert Douglas to Carl Gustav, Ilmen, 7 April 1646 and Swedish Camp, 10 November 1646.

⁵⁶ Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen* (4 vols, Hamburg: 1984), I, 367; Konrad Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens* (Munich: 2007), 59.

⁵⁷ Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 59–60.

⁵⁸ Eichberg, *Schwedenfestungen*, 36, 73; Schwarzwälder, *Bremen*, 360–6.

⁵⁹ Grosjean, 'Scottish Governorship', 59.

and Kalmar regiment going through the usual ranks until being made colonel in 1645. It was on 16 May 1642 that he received a birth brief from Scotland in support of his application for his Swedish ennoblement. We do not know if there were any links in existence between him and other Scots in Bremen and his stay in Stade was relatively short as he left in 1656 to retire to Sweden.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, when in Bremen, Irving almost certainly met with Alexander Forbes, who had returned to the duchies in order to retrieve money owed to him as well as to his brother, particularly for the latter's services as commandant as well as the revenues of his donations from the previous two years. In addition to this, he stated that he felt obliged to satisfy William's creditors.⁶¹ He remained in Bremen until at least 1657 although it is not quite clear in which capacity. The recurring themes in his correspondence are financial difficulties, which he attempted to settle by requesting the aforementioned money, as well as a serious illness which he seemed to have contracted in 1655.⁶² It is entirely possible that it was delays in the attempts to sort out his affairs which kept Forbes in the duchies for three years. Given his previous position within the Swedish army it would not be surprising if he did not also take over military capacities, specifically when the duchies were attacked by the Danish king Frederick III (1648–1670) who managed to occupy Bremervörde in 1657, ending Lundie's governorship over the fortification.⁶³ Nevertheless, despite this success and their sieges on Stade and Buxtehude the Danish troops did not manage to dislodge the Swedish forces and had to retreat eventually.⁶⁴ After 1657 there is no proof for the presence of either Jacob Lundie or Alexander Forbes in the duchies and it has to be assumed that they had left the same year or shortly thereafter.⁶⁵ In addition to them, Alexander Erskein had moved on to Poland in his capacity as *Krigspresident* in 1655 where Charles X

⁶⁰ NAS, RH16/207/2–3, Copy of Birth-Brief of Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Irving, 16 May 1647.

⁶¹ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna af Södermöre, E1048, Alexander Forbes to Erik Oxenstierna, Stade, 20 April 1650.

⁶² SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna af Södermöre, E1048, Alexander Forbes to Erik Oxenstierna, Stade, 16 August 1653, 17 November 1654, 27 March and 20 April 1655; SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Personarkiv, E8195, Alexander Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 14 March 1657 and Burg, 12 May 1657.

⁶³ Danner, *Stader Garnison*, 37–9.

⁶⁴ Eichberg, *Schwedenfestungen*, 34; Schwarzwälder, *Bremen*, 373.

⁶⁵ A Captain James Lundie was enlisted in Colonel Dietrich von Düring's regiment in 1660 but due to his rank it is more likely that he was the son of the commandant. Danner, *Stader Garnison*, 38.

Gustav—who had succeeded Christina—engaged himself in another military conflict. There, Erskein was captured at the battle of Warsaw (28–30 July 1656) and died shortly thereafter at Zamość.⁶⁶

The various conflicts in which Sweden participated after 1654 ended a period in Bremen-Verden in which we could find a number of Scots in significant military and civic positions. What followed was a new phase of Scottish presence which took on a more transient character. For example, in October 1656, a troop of newly recruited Scottish soldiers robbed the administer of the toll and excise tax in Brunshausen, attempting to kill him while destroying his house.⁶⁷ These soldiers were probably part of the second wave of the Cranstoun regiment which had been employed in order to fight in the war against Poland and it is possible that they belonged to the group of those Royalist soldiers known to have deserted from Swedish services due to the alliance between the Swedish monarch and Cromwell.⁶⁸ Soldiers of this regiment had already come to the continent possibly in April the same year and had possibly been garrisoned in Stade on their way to Poland.⁶⁹ Other examples of transient Scottish military officials included William Lundie, a relative of Jacob Lundie, and Lieutenant Robert Davidson, who fought in the aforementioned conflict between Denmark and Sweden at a scance at Belum in 1658.⁷⁰

One of the Scots present in Bremen since the late 1640s—Patrick More—remained in the duchy until his death in 1680. He is an interesting case as he did not confine himself to a Scottish or Swedish social network but became linked with the indigenous population of Buxtehude by marrying the mayor's stepdaughter with whom he had at least one child. After taking over as commandant, More became resident in the town and had his own pew installed in the local church. However, during the 1660s, he took the town officials to court over a sum he was apparently owed by them—revealing that the relationship

⁶⁶ Frost, *Northern Wars*, 166–177; Hildebrandt, 'Alexander Erskein', 476.

⁶⁷ Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Stade, Rep. 5a, Vol. III, Fach 178 No. 1b, File Relating to the Attack of the Toll and Excise Tax Administrator in Brunshausen, 1656.

⁶⁸ Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 76.

⁶⁹ Fischer, *Scots in Sweden*, 122; Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 75. It is not clear if or for how long the troops were present in Stade as, according to Grosjean, most of them formed the garrison at Thorn, which was under Swedish control from 1655–58.

⁷⁰ Danner, *Stader Garnison*, 37.

between the commandant and the locals was not always a positive one.⁷¹ More probably decided to retire to private life in 1663 as he applied for a Scottish birth brief in order to prove his good standing.⁷² He did not withdraw from Swedish service completely as he gained the rank *Krigsråd* (military councillor) on 23 April 1671 in Stade and of Major General in 1675.⁷³ But, by this point, More had been released from his duties as governor of Buxtehude by another Scot in Swedish service, a Colonel Archibald Hamilton, who was almost certainly the nephew of Hugo Hamilton—commandant and colonel in the Swedish army until 1662.⁷⁴ His position in Buxtehude was to prove of negative consequences for the Colonel. In 1675, an Imperial attack (*Reichsexekution*) had been launched against Sweden, now an ally of the French king Louis XIV. This conflict saw troops of the Danish King Christian V, the dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Brandenburg as well as the bishop of Münster enter the duchies and lay siege to Buxtehude. Hamilton was forced to surrender the town on 16 April 1675 but was tried and executed in Stade in November the same year by general governor Henrik Horn for this action. The allied forces finally forced the Swedish troops to leave the duchies in August 1676 and the territories remained effectively under their control until 1680.⁷⁵ It is not clear what happened to Patrick More after the Swedish forces left in 1676 although it seems that he stayed in Buxtehude during this time. In 1679 he sent a petition from the town to Braunschweig-Lüneburg regarding interest payments from a credit he had given to the inhabitants of Neukloster which seems to have been successful.⁷⁶ The following year, however, More died in Buxtehude after residing there for more than thirty years. Despite this lengthy absence from Scotland he had kept a lifelong attachment to his home country as can

⁷¹ Stadtarchiv Buxtehude, StH.38.M1, Colonel Patrick More vs. Provost and Senate of Buxtehude.

⁷² *RPCS, Third Series*, 1661–1664, 355–6, Supplication, Patrick More, Edinburgh, 14 April 1663.

⁷³ Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Stade, Rep. 5a, Vol. I, Fach 132 No. 17, File Relating to the Appointment of Krigsråd Patrick More at Stade, May 1674.

⁷⁴ SRA, de la Gardiesamlingen, E1428, Archibald Hamilton to Magnus de la Gardie, Buxtehude, 1 July 1675.

⁷⁵ Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 457–460; Eichberg, *Schwedenfestungen*, 52; Frost, *Northern Wars*, 209–12; Pauli, *Svenska Tyskland*, 18.

⁷⁶ Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Stade, Rep. 5, Fach 376, Petition, Patrick More, Buxtehude, 1679.

be seen from a bequest paid by his wife Margareta to the poor of his home town Perth in 1683.⁷⁷

Throughout the period of Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden it is possible to identify over one hundred Scottish individuals within the territories, most of them, nevertheless, being there in a sojourning capacity. The presence of Scottish officers and soldiers from the start of Swedish control over the duchies in 1645 is not surprising given their role within the Swedish army. However, after the Swedish Crown officially established control over the duchies by means of the treaty of Westphalia, a number of Scots took over significant tasks within the new civil and military administration. For example, Alexander Erskine was of utmost importance due to his roles as commissioner and president. In addition to him, out of the nine highest military positions—consisting of a major general, a commandant of the Swedish regiment as well as of the seven governors of the fortifications—four were in the hands of Scots when the first Bremen-Swedish War broke out in 1654. Two of these functions—the command over the regiment as well as the governorship of Stade—were united in the person of William Forbes. This proportionately high number of Scots in responsible positions reflects the situation in the Swedish army as a whole, particularly in regard to the ninety Scottish governors which could be located in various territories along the Swedish borders with Denmark-Norway, Poland-Lithuania, Russia and the German territories between 1574 and 1700 by Alexia Grosjean.⁷⁸ The fact that Scots formed such a substantial group within the officer corps in Bremen-Verden demonstrates once again the amount of trust put into their skills by the Swedish government in a military vulnerable territory. Furthermore, some of the Scottish officials in Bremen-Verden took over multiple tasks as can be seen from the examples of William Forbes who in addition to his military duties represented Wrangel at the regional diet at Basdahl and Patrick More who engaged in money lending. Besides, it could be demonstrated that significant links existed among most of the permanently present high-ranking Scots in Bremen-Verden as well as between them and sojourning compatriots with some of them—like Patrick Ruthven—drawing on well-known concepts of network link-

⁷⁷ Perth & Kinross Council Archive, B59/24/2/1–3, Bequest paid by Margareta More, Buxtehude, 9 June 1683.

⁷⁸ Grosjean, 'Scottish Governorship', 53.

ages such as 'auld acquaintance'. Almost all of these Scots were known to support the exiled Stuart king and it is likely that this political attitude was one of the driving forces behind a Scottish network within the duchies similar and part of the one which could be proven to have been in existence in Sweden.⁷⁹

After the first Swedish-Bremen War the presence of Scots took on a more transient character with almost all of the abovementioned Scots in permanent positions either having left or died. An exception to this was again Patrick More who provides an example of a Scot integrating into the indigenous society to a certain extent, not least through his marriage. Yet, apart from More and his successor as commandant of Buxtehude, Hamilton, it is possible to find a range of other Scottish military officials in Swedish Bremen-Verden some of whom were the offspring or relatives of those Scots in more permanent positions within the duchies. Examples apart from the previously mentioned William Lundie, include the sons of Erskine: Baron and Lieutenant Colonel Alexander who was present in Bremen in the early 1670s, and Lieutenant Colonel Carl Gustav, who was part of the regiment of Major General Bernhard Christian Wangelin in Stade in 1680.⁸⁰

Scots continued to engage themselves in the civic administration after the 1650s. For example, a man called Johan Kinnaird acted as master of supplies (*Proviandt-mästare*) in Stade during the 1670s while the Swedish-born Scot, Georg Guthrie became state commissioner (*Stats Kommissar*) in 1682. He was an example of an individual for whom engagement in Bremen-Verden proved to be a negative experience as his over ambitious behaviour caused him to fall out with the general governor Henrik Horn and other officials, a dispute which left him effectively ruined.⁸¹ Another case of a Scot involved in the Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden was Johan Drummond who was responsible for the maintenance of old and the planning of new fortifications within the duchies.⁸² However, there is no proof for these individuals being active within the duchies after the mid-1650s in any capacity other than in a Swedish one or of them forming a network with a particular 'Scottish' angle.

⁷⁹ Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*, 245.

⁸⁰ Danner, *Stader Garnison*, 31, 46.

⁸¹ Sam. Hedar, 'Georg Guthrie', in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, XVII, 494–97; Fiedler, *Verwaltung der Herzogtümer*, 104, 106–7, 278.

⁸² Eichberg, *Schwedenfestungen*, 39, 45, 62.

Thus we can conclude that there had been something of a Scottish moment in Swedish Bremen-Verden which lasted roughly from 1649 to 1657 and saw Scots in an unquestionable position of authority within the duchies. Once war took its toll and reduced the number of soldiers the moment was all but over, even if this was not the absolute end. The case of Patrick More and the repatriation of his money to Scotland after his death shows that there was something of a continuation of a Scottish presence. Also, the letter of Alexander Erskine's son, who recognised the Earl of Mar as the head of the Erskine family, demonstrates that further Scots remained attached and interested in their home country despite their long term-absence from there. Indeed, this home country link led to an interesting twist for Scots in the duchies. Swedish government of Bremen-Verden ended during the events of the Great Northern War (1700–1721) when Danish troops occupied the duchy of Bremen and Hanoverian troops entered Verden in 1712. Both duchies were eventually given to the Hanoverian Electorate in the peace of Stockholm on 20 November 1719.⁸³ Ironically, any Scots still within the duchies would therefore have found themselves working for their own king, George I (1714–1727). An altogether alternative British interest in the duchies had begun.

⁸³ Schulze, 'Der Regierungsbezirk Stade', 220.

THE GORDONS OF HUNTLY: A SCOTTISH NOBLE HOUSEHOLD AND ITS EUROPEAN CONNECTIONS, 1603–1688

Barry Robertson

Introduction

It is plain to see that in recent years there has been a vast surge in academic studies devoted to examining the experiences of those British and Irish emigrants and exiles who made their way to continental Europe during the seventeenth century.¹ This seems particularly apparent from a Scottish point of view. Literally within the last decade or so there has been a veritable explosion of new and exciting research that has looked to uncover the extensive links that existed between Scotland and the countries that lay across the North Sea and beyond. This, for example, has confirmed just how prevalent the Scots were as soldiers in the armies of countries such as Sweden, Denmark-Norway, the United Provinces, France and Poland-Lithuania during the major armed conflicts of the period.² It has also revealed the presence of Scots in a range of other capacities, from governors, diplomats, scholars and political exiles right through to high-profile merchants and

¹ See, in particular, a number of the essays contained in S. Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden: 2001); T. O' Connor ed., *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815* (Dublin: 2001); T. O' Connor and M.A. Lyons eds., *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820* (Dublin: 2003); A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005); T. O' Connor and M.A. Lyons eds., *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Dublin: 2006). See, also, the important online database created by Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean: S. Murdoch and A. Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580–1707* (www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne).

² S. Murdoch, "Introduction", in Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, pp. 1–21; A. Grosjean, "Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden, 1655–1658", in S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop eds., *Fighting for Identity. Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550–1900* (Leiden: 2002), 61–82; S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (East Linton: 2003), 187–253; M. Glozier, "Scots in the French and Dutch Armies during the Thirty Years' War", in Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 117–141; M. Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King. Nursery of Men of Honour* (Leiden: 2004); R.I. Frost, "Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War", in Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 191–213.

common tinkers.³ The scope of all this work has been vast and has collectively succeeded in presenting an increasingly detailed picture of the world of emigrants and exiles during the years in question. And there is still more that can be done. Much of the existing work has quite understandably concentrated on the links between Scotland and the other Protestant states of Northern Europe. As a result, relatively little detailed research has been conducted on Scottish emigrants and exiles in Central Europe, Spain, the Italian states and the Mediterranean world.⁴ It is also the case that little has emerged in the way of in-depth studies of key individuals and families and their links to the Continent. Famous soldiers such as Alexander Leslie and Robert Monro remain popular as subjects but more could be covered.⁵

³ See, for example, S. Murdoch, "Scotsmen on the Danish-Norwegian Frontiers, c. 1580–1680", in A. Mackillop and S. Murdoch eds., *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers, c. 1600–1800. A Study of Scotland and Empires* (Leiden: 2003), 1–28; A. Grosjean, "A Century of Scottish Governorship in the Swedish Empire, 1574–1700", in *Ibid.*, 53–78; A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003); S. Murdoch, "Scottish Ambassadors and British Diplomacy, 1618–1635", in Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 27–50; D. Worthington, "Alternative Diplomacy? Scottish Exiles at the Courts of the Habsburgs and their Allies, 1618–1648", in *Ibid.*, 51–75; D. Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: 2004); D. Catterall, *Community without Borders. Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden: 2002); E. Mijers, "Scottish Students in the Netherlands, 1680–1730", in Grosjean and Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 301–331; G. Gardiner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690* (East Linton: 2004); M. Bogucka, "Scots in Gdansk (Danzig) in the Seventeenth Century", in A.I. Macinnes, T. Riis, and F.G. Pedersen eds., *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Linton: 2000), 39–46; W. Kowalski, "The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Grosjean and Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 53–103. Mention should also be made of the groundbreaking work of David Ditchburn on the myriad of Scottish links to Continental Europe during the medieval period. See D. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: the Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560* (East Linton: 2001).

⁴ David Worthington's ongoing work on Scots in the Habsburg territories will of course do much to correct this imbalance. Also very welcome is the emerging work of Tom McNally on Scots in the Catholic colleges of Southern Europe. See, for example, his chapter in this volume.

⁵ P. Dukes, "New Perspectives: Alexander Leslie and the Smolensk War, 1632–4", in S. Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 173–190; W.S. Brockington, "Robert Monro: Professional Soldier, Military Historian and Scotsman", in *Ibid.*, 215–241. Some interesting research has been done on the Aberdeenshire family, the Leslies. See P. Dukes, "The Leslie Family in the Swedish Period (1630–5) of the Thirty Years' War", *European Studies Review*, 12 (1982), 401–424. Certain members of the Leslie family have proved to be central figures in the work of David Worthington. See,

It is with this latter point in mind that this paper offers a study of one of the key noble households of Scotland, the Gordons of Huntly, and its links to continental Europe. The Gordons were one of the major powers in the north of Scotland during the early modern period, and by the latter half of the seventeenth century they also boasted notable connections in the kingdoms of France and Poland.⁶ With this in mind, two main questions will be addressed during the course of the paper. Firstly, what were these connections? Secondly, to what extent, if at all, did the Gordons of Huntly exploit these to their full potential? Did they, for example, seek to make systematic use of networks in order to further the interests of the household, and did they even look to form a Gordon kin-based network? Through this it is intended that a fully rounded snapshot of a particular emigrant experience will be presented, albeit one that is small scale and family-centred. Not only does the paper provide detail of the particular continental sojourns themselves, but it also considers how these experiences informed the lives of those members of the family who returned to Scotland, as well as the extent to which the household as a whole gained enrichment from them.

Military Connections

Perhaps most notable is that fact that successive Gordon lords found employment on the continent in a military capacity during the course of the seventeenth century. Up until the time of George Gordon, 6th Earl and 1st Marquis of Huntly (d. 1636) the Gordons were certainly no strangers to martial endeavours, but it was his eldest son, George, Earl of Enzie (the future 2nd Marquis of Huntly) who first saw military service outside the Three Kingdoms.

In 1632 Enzie successfully raised a company of 100 men-at-arms for Louis XIII of France and by the middle of that decade both he and

for example, D. Worthington, "A Stuart-Austrian Habsburg Intermediary: the Life of Walter Leslie (1606–67)", *History Scotland*, 2, no. 4 (July/August, 2002), 29–34.

⁶ For more on the Gordons of Huntly, see B. Robertson, "Continuity and Change in the Scottish Nobility: the House of Huntly, 1603–1690" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2007); B. Robertson, "Changing Layers of Jurisdiction: the Crown, the House of Huntly and Local Governance in the North of Scotland during the Early Seventeenth Century", in J. Pan-Montojo and F. Pedersen eds., *Communities in European History: Representations, Jurisdictions, Conflicts* (Pisa: 2007), 203–23.

his men had seen action in Lorraine, Alsace and Germany. It was even reported that Enzie's eldest son, George (the future Lord Gordon), was wounded in the thigh during the storming of the town of Speyer.⁷ Enzie's third son, Lewis (the future 3rd Marquis of Huntly), also later continued the military connection with France. In 1641 he enrolled in a military academy there, and as the chronicler Patrick Gordon of Ruthven put it:

Begines his rudiments in the art militare by trailing of a picke; and haueing inabled himselfe by more than a yeares obedience, he passes the degrees upward, assuring himselfe that non could perfectly command who had not learned to obey.⁸

The fifth son, Henry, saw active service as an officer in the Polish army in the Second Northern War during the 1650s and is known to have taken part in the victory over the Russians at Chudново in 1660.⁹ The 4th Marquis of Huntly also saw his share of continental military service. In June 1673 he was with the French army at the Siege of Maastricht and in the following year took part in the Burgundy campaign and in Turenne's winter campaign of 1674–75. Furthermore, in the summer of 1675 he was to be found in Flanders campaigning in the army of the Prince of Orange.¹⁰

A number of reasons can be advocated as to why they all embarked on foreign military service. In the first instance there was money to be made from it. In Enzie's case this certainly seems to have been a consideration given the funds (13,000 livres) that were made available

⁷ R. Gordon of Gordonstoun and G. Gordon of Sallach, *A Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland from its Origin to the Year 1630... with a Continuation to the Year 1651* (Edinburgh: 1813), 460; W. Gordon, *A Concise History of the Ancient and Illustrious Family of Gordon*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: 1726–7), II, 628–9 (Louis XIII to Enzie, 6 March 1632), (Louis XIII to Enzie, 3 February 1633), (Louis XIII to Enzie, 19 October 1633). I have to thank Thomas Brochard for providing translations of these three letters.

⁸ P. Gordon of Ruthven, *A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper from 1639 to 1649*, ed. J. Dunn (Aberdeen: 1844), 84.

⁹ Frost, "Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War", 211. For the seminal account in English of the Second Northern War, see R.I. Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War, 1655–1660* (Cambridge: 1993).

¹⁰ Aberdeen University Special Collections, MS 658, The Pourtrait of True Loyalty exposed in the Family of Gordon by D. Burnet, 525.

to him by the French ambassador in London in 1631.¹¹ For many Scots of noble birth, particularly younger sons, military service was a key avenue by which they could earn money while at the same time retaining their status.¹² However, there were other considerations. Again in Enzie's case it could perhaps be argued that the wider political situation in Europe may have had a bearing. As with other Scots, he may have been keen to uphold the honour of the House of Stuart in light of the ejection of 'the Winter Queen' and her family from Bohemia and from the Palatinate during the first few years of the Thirty Years' War. Given the Catholic background of his family, Enzie may also have felt more comfortable fighting in the armies of Louis XIII than in those of the Protestant monarchs who were also at war with the Habsburgs.¹³

But there was perhaps a more pressing consideration, one that would have applied to all of the Gordon lords aforementioned. Put simply, they would have been attracted by the idea of pursuing what, at the time, was undoubtedly regarded as the noble art of war. As with other Scottish nobles, the Gordons attached much importance to chivalric and martial ideals. This is highly evident in portraits of the period in which a number of the Gordon lords seem only too keen to show off their armour and other military accoutrements.¹⁴ It is telling that in a reference to Lord Lewis, Patrick Gordon of Ruthven noted that he "bread himself in ane academie, as young noblemen are accustomed to doe that would be delicately bread for peace and pleasure, and a courtly carriage".¹⁵

Experience of service in foreign armies could also have a marked impact outside of the world of courtly pleasantries. Historians have been keen to note how the return of veterans from the Thirty Years' War had an enormous effect on the progress of the Scottish, English

¹¹ W.F. Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2 vols (London: 1909), I, 84–85; Gordon, *Family of Gordon*, II, 627–628 (Louis XIII to Enzie, 6 July 1631).

¹² Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France*, 69.

¹³ For discussion of these ideas, see Murdoch, "Introduction", 17–18; Glozier, "Scots in the French and Dutch Armies", 119.

¹⁴ Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France*, 69, 86, 97. For copies of portraits of George, 2nd Marquis of Huntly, George, Lord Gordon, and George, 4th Marquis of Huntly, see R. Williams, *Montrose: Cavalier in Mourning* (London: 1975), 178–179; C. [Gordon], 11th Marquis of Huntly, *The Records of Aboyne, 1230–1681* (Aberdeen: 1894), 544–545.

¹⁵ Gordon, *Britane's Distemper*, 84.

and Irish civil wars of the years 1639 to 1653. In Scotland, the return of soldiers such as Alexander Leslie and Robert Monro from Swedish service certainly aided the ascendancy of the Covenanting regime, while in Ireland the return of the likes of Owen Roe O'Neill from Spanish service in Flanders was also telling.¹⁶

But for the Gordons there would be no similar level of impact. In the first instance, as has been noted, Enzie's command in France amounted to no more than around 100 men, and even a cursory glance at the names on the muster list reveals that it was hardly a roll-call that featured much in the way of Gordon kin and adherents.¹⁷ In short, few from the list would have returned to lend their experience to the Royalist cause during the Civil Wars, a fact that did not go unnoticed by contemporaries. The ubiquitous Gordon of Ruthven noted that on the eve of the First Bishops' War in 1639, the 2nd Marquis of Huntly's soldiers were "but coldlie affected and all of them, through a long continued p[e]ace, ignorant of all militarie discipline".¹⁸ Another observer, James Gordon, later recalled that Huntly's force also suffered from a shortage of experienced officers.¹⁹ And despite his particular experience the 2nd Marquis performed poorly as a military leader in the Civil Wars.²⁰ Likewise, Lord Lewis Gordon also made little impact. Upon his return to Britain he did serve in the army of King Charles I at the First Battle of Newbury in September 1643, and later saw brief Covenanting service at the Battle of Justice Mills in September 1644. However, his efforts at the latter amounted to little more than a rather half-hearted caracole manoeuvre at the head of a small troop of horse.²¹ He returned to Royalist service thereafter but amassed little in the way of military glory during the remaining campaigns of the Marquis

¹⁶ J. Kenyon with J. Ohlmeyer, "The Background to the Civil Wars in the Stuart Kingdoms", in J. Kenyon and J. Ohlmeyer eds., *The Civil Wars. A Military History of England, Scotland and Ireland, 1638–1660* (Oxford: 1998), 9–10.

¹⁷ W.F. Leith, *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France from their Formation until their Final Dissolution, A.D. 1443–1830*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: 1882), II, 190–1.

¹⁸ Gordon, *Britane's Distemper*, 15.

¹⁹ J. Gordon of Rothiemay, *History of Scots Affairs from 1637 to 1641*, eds. J. Robertson and G. Grub, 3 vols (Aberdeen: 1841), II, 220–221. For more on the Gordons and the First Bishops' War, see B. Robertson, "The House of Huntly and the First Bishops' War", *Northern Scotland*, 24 (2004), 1–15.

²⁰ See Robertson, "Continuity and Change in the Scottish Nobility", 98–150.

²¹ Gordon, *Britane's Distemper*, 82–84. The caracole manoeuvre typically involved a troop of cavalry riding towards the enemy whereupon they would discharge their pistols before retiring back to their own lines.

of Montrose.²² Similarly, the military undertakings of the 4th Marquis of Huntly were singularly underwhelming following his return to Scotland. In 1685 he raised the northern shires for action against the 9th Earl of Argyll during the latter's rebellion, but his force never saw action.²³ More tellingly, during the Revolution of 1688–89 he did little else than surrender Edinburgh Castle to the forces of William of Orange after a somewhat inglorious siege.²⁴

Arguably the only member of the family who made any impact after returning from foreign military service was George, Lord Gordon. From the time of his joining Montrose's Royalist army in early 1645 up until his death at the Battle of Alford in July of that year he made an effective contribution, and was recognised by commentators on all sides as an exemplary leader of men.²⁵ Perhaps most memorable was his charge at the head of a wing of the Gordon cavalry at the Battle of Auldearn in May 1645. Gordon of Ruthven noted how, during this engagement, Lord Gordon employed what was regarded as a new form of cavalry charge. Instead of the discharging of pistols as part of a caracol manoeuvre, Lord Gordon's men drew swords and carried their charge crashing into the enemy's ranks, much to the devastation of the latter.²⁶ It is probable that he would have learnt of this tactic during his time in France.

Other Connections

Military service was not the only means by which members of the family gained access to the wider European world. Opportunities were also there for travel, education and for marriage. The 1st Marquis of Huntly spent some of his formative years in France. The 2nd Marquis (while still the Earl of Enzie) also spent some time there prior to his stint of military service: as much as six months at the French royal

²² For the best military study of the campaigns of Montrose, see S. Reid, *The Campaigns of Montrose. A Military History of the Civil War in Scotland, 1639–1646* (Edinburgh: 1990).

²³ *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683–1687*, ed. W. Macleod (Edinburgh: 1893), 130–132; Robertson, "Continuity and Change in the Scottish Nobility", 177.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 179–180.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

²⁶ Gordon, *Britane's Distemper*, 125–126.

court in 1623, a period that brought him into personal contact with Louis XIII and the Queen Mother, Marie de Medici.²⁷ Indeed, by the mid-seventeenth century Gordon links to France were strong. The wife of the 1st Marquis, Henrietta Stewart, had been born there and opted to spend her remaining years there in order to escape the attentions of the Covenanting regime in Scotland. She died in 1642 and was buried in her mother's grave in Lyon.²⁸ An uncle of the 1st Marquis, the Jesuit priest, James Gordon, also died in France (in 1620), as did the second son of the 2nd Marquis, James, Lord Aboyne (probably in 1649).²⁹ The 4th Marquis of Huntly's sister, Anne, was naturalised in France along with her husband, Sir Miles Crouly, and Huntly himself spent around two years there prior to embarking on a grand tour of Europe in the early 1670s. This reportedly took in locations across Italy as well as in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia and Germany.³⁰

Part of a journal still survives that provides fascinating detail of the section of Huntly's tour that took him through some of the German speaking territories. Key stops, as detailed in the narrative, included Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin, and Magdeburg. Huntly also took time out from Vienna to visit some fortresses along the Danube, into what was then considered part of Hungary. The journal gives an excellent insight into what the typical grand tour of the time would have involved, both in terms of logistics and itinerary. It also constitutes a valuable record of the size and layout of the towns visited, as well as of the richness, or otherwise, of their hinterlands. Much detailed description is provided of various fortifications seen along the way, Huntly appearing to have been particularly impressed with those situated along the Danube. For example, it is noted that the bastions of Comorra were "the highest and thickest that I have any wher sein".

²⁷ Gordon and Gordon, *Genealogical History*, 374; National Archives, London, State Papers Foreign, France, SP78/72, ff. 408–409. The Catholic priest, Gilbert Blakhal, noted that the 2nd Marquis was also known to Anne of Austria, wife to Louis XIII. See G. Blakhal, *A Brieffe Narration of the Services done to Three Noble Ladyes*, ed. J. Stuart (Aberdeen: 1844), 128, 131.

²⁸ J. Spalding, *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England, A.D. 1624–A.D. 1645*, ed. J. Stuart, 2 vols (Aberdeen: 1850–1), II, 185.

²⁹ Gordon and Gordon, *Genealogical History*, 363, 537; Gordon, *Britane's Distemper*, 205.

³⁰ J.M. Bulloch, *The First Duke of Gordon* (Huntly: 1908), 19; Gordon, *Family of Gordon*, II, 581; National Library of Scotland (NLS), MS 7004, Yester Papers, f. 32 (Huntly to [Lauderdale], 16 April 1670); National Archives of Scotland (NAS), Airlie MSS, GD 16/34/194 (Mouat to Airlie, 2 September 1668).

Dresden's military defences also met his approval, particularly its vast arsenal, which were reported as housing arms for "at le[a]st 18,000 hors and 25,000 foot". By comparison, Berlin's defences were judged by Huntly to be poor, although he was pleased to note that "this present Elector [Frederick William of Brandenburg-Prussia] is causing fortify itt after the moderne French way of fortifications".

Detail is also provided of the main churches and other religious buildings seen along the way. The cathedral of St Stephen in Vienna was judged to be very fine, as were the Jesuit colleges in Prague. He also looked favourably on some of the Lutheran churches, and while in Magdeburg even attended a Lutheran mass. This was noted to be "so lyk an Catholick mass...that a man not very particularly taking notice could be easily mistaken". The stately demeanour of some of the domestic architecture also made an impression, as did the richness of much of the countryside. However, evidence of damage done during the Thirty Years' War was still to be seen in some places. While staying overnight at the town of Brod in Bohemia, Huntly had noticed that it was:

so rowined ever since the Palatin's and Sueds wars that ther ar hardly four intir houses in all the toun but great rowins of fyin houses boath in the toun and suburbs in no les quantitie as if the war had been but ended 3 years agoe.

Note was also made of what the cost of living was in certain towns. Vienna, for example, was regarded as being a relatively cheap place in which to live. Berlin, meanwhile, was less favourably looked upon. Of Huntly's stay there the journal relates that:

Hear a man is but very coursly interteined for an croun a day, meat [in] abundance but so il[l] cookt that it can be hardly wors, and bad wine though exceeding dear.

The journal is kinder to Elector Frederick William himself at least: he is referred to as "exciding civil to strangers, much above most of the princes of Germanie".³¹

The Gordon connection to Poland was also interesting and involved the two youngest children of the 2nd Marquis, the aforementioned Lord Henry and his twin sister, Catherine. When he returned from France in 1636 upon the death of his father the 2nd Marquis of Huntly

³¹ For a copy of the journal extract, see NAS, Gordon MSS, GD 44/55/1/49.

(formerly the Earl of Enzie) left behind this recently born pair.³² They were entrusted to the care of Dr William Davidson, a Scottish-born physician in Paris who himself could trace a distant blood tie to the earls of Huntly. Davidson duly saw to their upbringing while at the same time advancing his own career as a doctor and an academic. In 1644 he was appointed physician to the young Louis XIV. It is through him that the Gordon twins were most likely exposed to the upper echelons of French society and in particular to the royal court. Catherine became a maid of honour to Mary of Gonzaga, daughter of the Duke of Nevers, upon her marriage to the future Polish king, John Casimir, in 1645. Catherine left with the royal party for Poland in this year and in 1650 William Davidson followed suit taking the now teenage Lord Henry with him. Catherine subsequently married the Polish Crown Treasurer, Count John Andrew Morsztyn, while Davidson became physician to Casimir, and Henry found employment as an officer in the Polish army and was subsequently integrated into the Polish nobility.³³

A Gordon Network?

But did the Gordons of Huntly exploit such links to their full potential? Did they involve themselves in extensive networking while on the Continent, and could it be said that a Gordon kin-based network existed? On the surface it would seem that the House of Huntly's Polish connections would have been very fruitful. There were certainly vast numbers of Scots in Poland-Lithuania (as there were across Northern Europe in general) and thus, through the exploitation of networks, opportunities arose for fellow countrymen to become established or to

³² Spalding, *Memorials*, I, 76. It is not known exactly why the twins were left behind. Perhaps they were too young and sickly for the journey and it had been thought best that they would follow on later. However, with the death of their mother, Anne Campbell, in 1638, and the outbreak of the Civil Wars shortly after, it would seem that the decision was taken for them to remain in France. See J.M. Bulloch, *The Polish "Marquises of Huntly"* (Peterhead: 1932), 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, 5–6; NLS, MS 2955, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, f. 29–29v (Davidson to [Lauderdale], 21 April 1667); J. Read, *William Davidson of Aberdeen. The First British Professor of Chemistry* (Aberdeen: 1951), 5, 7–8; J. Small, "Notice of William Davidson, M.D.", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10 (1875), 267, 274; Frost, "Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War", 211.

gain advancement.³⁴ Through his soldiering, Henry Gordon certainly came into contact with fellow Scots. He served for a time alongside the future general of the Russian army, Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, and is reported to have rescued two Scottish officers fighting on the Russian side at the Battle of Chudново, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Menzies and Colonel David Crawford.³⁵ Gordon of Auchleuchries noted how Lord Henry maintained the captured Crawford generously and eventually dismissed him ransom-free.³⁶ A common nationality could obviously prove very useful on the field of battle.

The progress of Henry and of his sister, both in France and in Poland-Lithuania, did indeed involve networking of a sort: namely that which went hand-in-hand with access to the upper echelons of noble society and the royal courts. But the fact that they had been in France in the first place had been largely a matter of chance, and, similarly, their subsequent elevation in Polish society owed more to opportunities coming their way as a result of their noble birth than to intensive networking. It is tempting to try and trace links between the twins and Scots (and indeed, Gordons) who had already established themselves in Poland, but there is little evidence to back this up. Two notable Gordons in Poland-Lithuania over the first half of the seventeenth century had been the Stuart agents and factors Patrick and Francis Gordon.³⁷ They were, however, no longer in Poland-Lithuania by the time of the arrival of the twins and so it seems unlikely that they could have been instrumental in bringing their move about.³⁸

The almost accidental nature of the arrival of the twins in Poland was reflected by the fact that the household in Scotland did not seek to exploit the connection further. Indeed, from the time of their birth it seems that both Henry and Catherine were all but forgotten about. William Davidson later bemoaned the fact that he had been left to bring up the pair without any assistance from their father, the 2nd

³⁴ Some contemporaries estimated that around 30,000 Scots or Scottish families were in Poland-Lithuania in 1620. See Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 27. For detailed discussion of Scottish networking in Northern Europe, see Murdoch, *Network North*.

³⁵ *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, A.D. 1635–A.D. 1699*, ed. J. Robertson (Aberdeen: 1859), 31–32; Frost, “Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years’ War”, 211.

³⁶ *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, 40.

³⁷ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 37.

³⁸ Francis Gordon returned to Scotland in 1642. See Murdoch and Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe*, entry 1520.

Marquis of Huntly. In a letter of 1667 he hoped that the family would see fit to compensate him for his trouble.³⁹ And in the 1660s, when Lord Henry arrived in Scotland in pursuit of a settlement out of the family estates, his nephew, the 4th Marquis of Huntly, demonstrated little warmth towards him. In a letter to the Earl of Lauderdale Huntly could be found referring to the “extrauagant pretensions” of his uncle.⁴⁰ At the same time, Henry found cause to express much disappointment at the manner in which he had been received by his family, stating that he had been better treated among foreigners than by his relations in Scotland.⁴¹

He was, at least, lucky enough to eventually be considered worthy of an annuity of 5,000 merks Scots to be raised out of rents from land pertaining to the family.⁴² His twin sister was not so fortunate. In May 1664, she wrote from Warsaw hinting that she too would be obliged to receive the benefits of her birth into the noble House of Huntly.⁴³ Nothing seems to have been followed up on her behalf. Likewise there is no evidence that any financial compensation was given to William Davidson. In short, the connections between the household in Scotland and Poland-Lithuania were clearly distant and it seems certain that little or nothing was done to establish and exploit a kin-based Gordon network there. It is telling that, despite the frosty reception from his family, Lord Henry decided to spend the remainder of his life in Scotland.⁴⁴ Clearly, he saw there was little in the way of prospects for him back in Poland-Lithuania.

It was the French connection that arguably remained most constant for the Gordons of Huntly. As has been seen, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Marquises all gained experience of French military service, and both the 1st Marquis and his spouse, Henrietta Stewart, spent some of their formative years there. Nevertheless, care should be taken not to overplay the significance of these links. It is notable, for example, that

³⁹ NLS, MS 2955, f. 29–29v (Davidson to [Lauderdale], 21 April 1667).

⁴⁰ British Library (BL), Lauderdale Papers, Add 23123, ff. 184–185 (Huntly to Lauderdale, 12 September 1665).

⁴¹ Bulloch, *Polish “Marquises of Huntly”*, 12–13 (Lord Henry Gordon to Lauderdale, 18 March 1665).

⁴² *Ibid.*, 14–14; BL, Add 23123, ff. 178–179 (Huntly’s Curators to Lauderdale, 9 September 1665); NLS, MS 7003, Yester papers, ff. 48–49 (Huntly to Tweeddale, 27 May 1667).

⁴³ Bulloch, *Polish “Marquises of Huntly”*, 10–11 (Catherine, Countess Morztytn to [Lauderdale?], May 1664).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

upon leaving France in 1636 the 2nd Marquis saw little alternative but to leave his two youngest children in the care of William Davidson, a very distant relative to say the least. In addition, upon the death of James, Lord Aboyne, there was no one else available to arrange and pay for his funeral than the same William Davidson.⁴⁵ It is also notable that during her short time in France just before her death in 1642, the old Marchioness, Henrietta Stewart, would have little to do with the idea of allowing her orphaned granddaughter, Lady Henrietta Gordon, to journey from Scotland in order to reside with her.⁴⁶ Again this is an indication of just how cold some members of the House of Huntly could be towards close relatives.

It also seems clear that the Gordons of Huntly did little to involve themselves in any commercial ventures overseas, either in Europe or in the emerging Atlantic world. In essence the family remained conservative and old-fashioned and did not look to diversify beyond the limits of traditional landownership.⁴⁷ Here in all probability lies the key reason why they did not look to build up networks. Ensnared in the comfort zone provided by their own extensive Scottish estates they saw very little reason to expend time and effort on European commercial ventures. It was a lazy attitude and one which was indicative of the family's lack of real dynamism throughout much of the seventeenth century. In this they stood in stark contrast to individuals and families of Scottish origin that were willing to work hard at exploiting networks in order to build up successful business empires. Key examples here include men such as Daniel Young Leijonanker and John Kinnemond, both of whom became notable entrepreneurs and traders in Sweden during the seventeenth century. Also of note in a Swedish context were the Lyall brothers, a family that went on to amass great wealth and influence.⁴⁸ Similarly, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Robert Gordon of Aberdeen was a successful merchant in Danzig. Upon his return to Scotland he provided an endowment for the establishment of a hospital in his home town.⁴⁹ Such individuals plainly had the desire, talent, drive and

⁴⁵ NLS, MS 2955, f. 29–29v (Davidson to [Lauderdale], 21 April 1667).

⁴⁶ Blakhal, *Breiffe Narration*, 118–120.

⁴⁷ Robertson, "Continuity and Change in the Scottish Nobility", 214.

⁴⁸ Murdoch, *Network North*, 162, 174–178, 181–182, 188–191.

⁴⁹ Murdoch and Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe*, entry 6484. This later evolved into the Robert Gordon School and the Robert Gordon University.

determination to make their mark in the world of international commerce. The House of Huntly could in no way lay claim to a similar European success story.

Conclusion

The Gordons of Huntly maintained or developed a number of connections to Continental Europe during the seventeenth century. Of these, undoubtedly the most significant were the military ties. A number of the Gordon lords saw service in France from the 1630s through to the 1670s, while Lord Henry Gordon served in the Polish army during the 1650s and early 1660s. In addition, George Gordon, 4th Marquis of Huntly, also saw brief service in the Dutch army in 1675. There may have been a number of reasons for their desire to build a military profile in this way. Arguably the most compelling of these was the desire to live up to a fashionable and noble martial ideal. However, despite their experiences abroad, not all of the Gordon lords emerged as outstanding soldiers. Perhaps most significantly, few of them were able to lend significant military muscle during any of the wars of the three Stuart kingdoms. Arguably the only one to make any significant difference in a military capacity upon his return was George, Lord Gordon, while campaigning alongside the Marquis of Montrose in 1645.

Some of the Gordon lords also found time to simply travel in Europe, perhaps most notably the 4th Marquis of Huntly in the early 1670s. His journal extracts stand testament to a man who took great interest in the sights he beheld along the way. The Gordons also retained family ties in France. And through court connections and marriage, the twins, Henry and Catherine, gained access to the upper echelons of Polish society. However, overall the family saw little need to exploit such connections to their full potential. They demonstrated no real desire to diversify into the world of international business, and no evidence exists to suggest the building of any kind of significant Gordon network outside of the immediate family circle. And at any rate, as Lord Henry Gordon and his mentor, William Davidson, were to find, immediate family ties did not always necessarily count for much in the noble House of Huntly.

PART THREE

PROTESTANTS AND PATRONS

“MY HEART IS A SCOTCH HEART”:
SCOTTISH CALVINIST EXILES IN FRANCE
IN THEIR CONTINENTAL CONTEXT, 1605–1638¹

Siobhan Talbott

Introduction

It has been well documented that the 1605 General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, held in Aberdeen, was declared illegal by James VI, and that those involved were exiled, some to the continent and some to remote parts of Scotland.² Andrew Melville, who was not directly involved in the Assembly but who declared his support for the ministers involved, was incarcerated in the Tower of London for the part he played in the controversy. After unsuccessful attempts by the protestant academy at La Rochelle to release him in order that he become their Professor of Divinity, the intervention of the Duke of Bouillon, Prince of Sedan, eventually ensured Melville’s freedom, and he accepted a professorship at the University of Sedan in 1611. Retrospectively, Melville has been seen as the most prominent member of the Presbyterian confession in Scotland,³ and as such he may be

¹ 1613 (n.d.), Andrew Melville to Robert Durie in J. Howie, *The Scots Worthies* (Glasgow/Edinburgh: 1851), 265. While religious affiliation in this period cannot be compartmentalised into ‘Presbyterianism/Calvinism vs. Episcopacy’, references to Scottish Calvinists presume that they are also Presbyterian, and therefore opposed to Episcopacy. I would like to thank Dr Steve Murdoch, of the University of St Andrews and Dr Mark Towsey, of the Institute of Historical Research for their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

² D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 8 vols (Edinburgh: 1843–1845), VI, 289–91; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 38 vols (Edinburgh: 1877–1970) [hereafter *RPCS*], VI, xlviii–lii; *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, from the year 1540, part III, 1593–1618* (Edinburgh: 1845), 1013–1035; *RPCS*, VI, 101–106; A. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567–1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot: 1998), 106–17, 125–6; W. Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603: A New History of Scotland* (London: 1965), I, 348–369.

³ The view of Melville as the ‘chief villain’ of Presbyterianism has arisen primarily from Episcopalian viewpoints such as that of John Spottiswood; J. Spottiswoode, *The History of the Church of Scotland, 1655* (Yorkshire: 1972), 275, 289; J. Spottiswoode, *Refutatio libelli De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae* (London: 1620), 7, 31. This has been subsequently reasserted; G. Donaldson, “The Scottish Church, 1567–1625” in A. Smith

expected, in residence on the continent, to have assumed the position of 'leader' of the Scottish Calvinist exiles there. Yet, when the Duke of Bouillon secured his release, Melville declared that he was "in a state of suspense" as to whether he should go to France at all, asking "shall I desert my station? Shall I fly from my native country, from my native church, from my very self?"⁴ At this point, he clearly did not see any opportunity to continue his rebellious ways by establishing a Presbyterian community of Scots on the continent. Whether this changed upon his arrival on the continent is one of the questions this chapter seeks to answer.

What has been much less documented is what happened to the ministers exiled to the continent in this period; whether they settled in France or longed for a return home despite the re-imposition of Episcopacy on the Kirk by James VI;⁵ whether they continued to strive for a Presbyterian Church in Scotland; whether they were even in contact with each other. The integration of Scots with the French Huguenots has rarely been examined satisfactorily and, where the relationship has been recognised, Huguenot refugees in England have often been the focus, links with Scotland and British settlement within the Huguenot communities in France being neglected.⁶ It is hoped that, by a systematic examination of the movements and correspondence of both the six ministers exiled to France and influential characters on the continent such as Andrew Melville, our understanding of the

ed., *The Reign of James VI and I* (Aylesbury: 1973), 45; G. Hewitt, "Reformation to Revolution" in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley eds., *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: 1992), 21–2; MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 173 n. 9; D. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560–1638* (Edinburgh: 1986), 136–8.

⁴ 1610 (n.d.), Andrew Melville to James Melville in T. McCrie, *The Life of Andrew Melville*, 2 vols (Edinburgh/London: 1824), II, 265–6.

⁵ In 1610, James engineered the consecration in London of three Scottish bishops (the number required to ensure the apostolic succession). On their return to Scotland, they in turn consecrated new bishops to fill the vacant sees, reintroducing "true Episcopacy" in Scotland. S. Murdoch, *Network North* (Leiden: 2006), 87.

⁶ N. Sutherland, "The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes, 1598–1629", E. Labrousse, "Great Britain as envisaged by the Huguenots of the Seventeenth Century" and R. Gwynn, "Patterns in the Study of Huguenot Refugees in Britain: Past, Present and Future" in I. Scouloudi ed., *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550–1880* (London: 1987), 158–172, 143–157, 217–236, esp. 219; A. Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567–c. 1620* (London: 1997); R. Gwynn, "Conformity, non-Conformity and Huguenot Settlement in England in the later Seventeenth Century" in A. Duncan-Page, *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660–1750* (Hampshire: 2006), 23–42; R. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: the History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: 1985).

Scottish Calvinist exile community in France in the post-1605 period will be developed. This understanding necessitates a reinvestigation of the religious and intellectual connections between the Scots and the continent. The more obvious connections between Scottish Catholic exiles and Scots colleges on the continent (for example at Paris, Rome, Douai and Madrid) have previously been emphasised, while assertions that “Scotland was particularly bound to the Dutch by Calvinism” have led to the assumption that ‘Calvinist’ countries such as the Dutch Republic were the only havens for Calvinist Scots in this period.⁷ This belief has stemmed from a view that France was ‘Catholic’, yet this ostensibly Catholic country actually housed an extensive Protestant population and, aside from intensely Catholic provinces (for example Brittany), Protestant ideas were widespread.⁸

France vs. The Netherlands

Many Scots maintained links with each other while abroad through common interests, and this is demonstrated in no better way than by young men travelling together around Europe on their educative Grand Tours. These links between Scotland and the continent have certainly been recognised,⁹ although it has not been fully considered that these stays were often temporary. Bourges is especially demonstrative of this; all but three Scottish students there in this period returned to Scotland, to pursue careers in education, the church or statecraft.¹⁰ It has been assumed that France remained an educative

⁷ A. Macinnes, “Regal Union for Britain, 1603–38” in G. Burgess, *The New British History: Founding a Modern State: 1603–1715* (New York/London: 1999), 33.

⁸ Drummond, *Kirk and Continent*, 9.

⁹ M. Tucker, *Maîtres et étudiants écossais à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Bourges 1480–1703* (Paris: 2001); M. Tucker, “Scottish Students and Masters at the Faculty of Law of the University of Bourges in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” in T. van Heijnsbergen and N. Royan eds., *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: 2002); J. Durkan, “The French Connection in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries” in T.C. Smout ed., *Scotland and Europe* (Edinburgh: 1986), 19–26; A. Cameron, “Scottish Students at Paris University 1466–1492” in *Juridical Review*, XLVIII (London: 1936), 228–255; J. Kirkpatrick, “The Scottish Nation in the University of Orléans” in *Scottish History Society*, XLIV (Edinburgh: 1904), 47–53; V. Montagu, “The Scottish College in Paris”, in *Scottish Historical Review*, IV (1907); J. Durkan, “The Scots College, Paris” in *Innes Review*, II (Edinburgh: 1951).

¹⁰ Tucker, “Scottish Students”, 118.

haven only for those Scots who were exiled Catholics (explaining the relative abundance of literature with reference to the Scots Colleges in Paris), with places such as Geneva, Leiden and Utrecht being the chosen destinations for Calvinists.¹¹ While it is undeniable that Scottish communities in the Dutch Republic were significant in this period,¹² it was not until later in the century that the most notable Scottish intellectual communities emerged there.¹³ The matriculation figures for the law faculty at Leiden, one of the most favoured of the Dutch universities, demonstrate that Leiden only began to flourish as a destination for Scots then.¹⁴ Moreover, the total numbers of Scots at Leiden rose from 607 between 1651 and 1700 to 825 between 1676 and 1725, suggesting a much later influx of Scottish students than may have been previously assumed.¹⁵

¹¹ L. Brockliss, *French Higher Education in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, A Cultural History* (Oxford: 1987) mentions English students in a footnote (98) and does not speak of either 'Scottish' or 'British' students; H. Robinson-Hammerstein ed., *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Dublin: 1998) contains five chapters on Ireland, one on England, one on the Netherlands, one on Austria and one on Italy but does not mention either Scots or French universities; M. Boissonnade, *Histoire de l'Université de Poitiers: Passé et présent (1432–1932)* (Poitiers: 1932); M. Tange, *Professeurs et Régents de Collège dans l'Ancienne Université de Paris (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris: 1902); P. Mellon, *L'Académie de Sedan: centre d'influence Française, à propos d'un manuscrit du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 1913).

¹² D. Catterall, *Community without borders: Scot migrants and the changing face of power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden: 2002) passim.; G. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1680–1690* (East Linton: 2004) passim.

¹³ A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, *The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical database [SSNE]* at <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/> (2004–8) has considered the matriculations of Scots at Leiden and Utrecht (Groningen and Franeker have not been considered as extensively). With the exception of three Scots, all those included in the database matriculated at Leiden or Utrecht after 1670. The exceptions are Hans Watson, who studied at Leiden from May 1631, Alexander Lyall, present in Leiden in 1593 and another Scotto-Dane, of the same name, present in Leiden in 1594. Two of these cannot be proven to be native Scots.

¹⁴ Between 1600 and 1650, an estimated 34 Scots matriculated, rising to 89 between 1651 and 1675, while between 1676 and 1700, 235 matriculated Scots are recorded. K. von Strien and M. Ahsmann, "Scottish Law Students in Leiden at the end of the seventeenth century: the Correspondence of John Clerk, 1694–97" in *Lias*, XIX (1992–3), 280. Matriculation figures can be misleading, as not all students studying matriculated. Some were exempt from fees and some deliberately did not officially matriculate in order to avoid paying.

¹⁵ 15 K. von Strein, "Schotse Studentes in Leiden Omstreeks 1700" in *Leids kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, LXXXVI (Delft: 1994), 133–48; R. Feenstra, "Scottish-Dutch Legal Relations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in Smout, *Scotland and Europe*, 130; Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 25 n. 30, 117–8. For figures relating to the Universities at Utrecht, Groningen and Franeker see Gardner, *Scottish Exile*

Scottish noblemen desired the best education the continent could offer and for many, even those who adhered strictly to certain confessions of faith, religious persuasions do not seem to have been factors in decisions over where to study.¹⁶ Likewise, although great emphasis has been placed on the Catholic/Protestant ‘divide’ in education throughout the seventeenth century, since French institutions arguably served political and religious purposes as well as merely academic,¹⁷ these institutions do not seem to have discriminated on the grounds of religion in their acceptance of Scottish students. Protestant Academies such as Saumur, Sedan and Montauban housed significant Scottish communities in the seventeenth century, Sedan remaining something of a safe haven for adherents to the Reformed Church until its annexation in 1642, comprising a staff that was a third Scottish (including its principal, Walter Donaldson).¹⁸ Despite the campaigns of Louis XIII, which have previously been seen as “damaging [to] the concord hitherto prevailing between the Huguenots and the Scottish Presbyterians”,¹⁹ these communities survived this testing period. The high numbers of Scots at some institutions and the desire for a good education rather than the opportunity to permanently emigrate can be gleaned from correspondence between sons studying in France and their fathers at home. In 1617, Alexander Erskine wrote to his father, the Earl of Mar, complaining that there were too many Scots in Bourges:

Community, 4, 24–25 (Utrecht), 118, 120 (Franeker), 118, 125 (Groningen); E. Mijers, “Scottish Students in the Netherlands, 1680–1730” in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005), 303–4. While matriculations at universities everywhere began to rise towards the end of the century, in comparison with France the Netherlands does not seem to have been the destination of choice for young scholars.

¹⁶ For examples of these individuals (which are by no means exhaustive) see A. Turner, “James Bassantin” in H. Matthew and B. Harrison eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols (Oxford: 2004) [hereafter *DNB*], IV, 257–8; J. Cairns, “Thomas Craig” in *DNB*, XIII, 956–9; T. Riis, “David Cunningham” in *DNB*, XIV, 682–3; R. Marshall, “John Hamilton” in *DNB*, XXIV, 864–7; J. Wood, *The Peerage of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: 1813), I, 702–3; J. Kirk, “Andrew Melville” in *DNB*, XXXVII, 766–771.

¹⁷ H. de Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 2 vols (Cambridge: 1996), II, 71; A. Fleming, *The Medieval Scots Scholar in France* (Glasgow: 1952), 129.

¹⁸ Drummond, *Kirk and Continent*, 36, J. Durkan, “Walter Donaldson” in *DNB*, XVI, 517–8.

¹⁹ Drummond, *Kirk and Continent*, 21; T. Munck, *Seventeenth Century Europe, 1598–1700* (Hampshire: 1991), 42–3.

if we had stayed still in Bourges we could not have lernit the Frence, in respek of the great number of Scotsmen that is ther for the present; for we met every day together at our exercise, so that it was impossible to us not to speake Scotis.²⁰

Alexander and his brother, Henry, obtained permission to leave for Saumur after nine months, as they believed the Scottish community there to be more reconcilable with their studies.²¹ The man accompanying the boys on the continent, Mr John Schaw, similarly wrote to the Earl of Mar:

Lett not y[ou]r l[ord] be offendit at the removing of y[ou]r sonniss from Burgs to Saumers, which was donne becauis of the sundrid incommoditeis brought into them by the multitude of Scottisch men resident thair.²²

Aside from Andrew Melville, one of the most influential Scots in France during this period was Robert Boyd of Trochrig, who became pastor and professor of philosophy at Saumur in 1605 before being awarded the chair of divinity in 1608 and eventually returning to Glasgow University in 1614.²³ During the period of Boyd's tenure at Saumur, the majority of professors at Saumur, Montauban and Sedan were Scotsmen, and "it was so in severall other Protestant academies at this time in France".²⁴ Moreover, Scots were not only present, they were desirable, and when Boyd was required to leave Saumur for Glasgow, "the university...sensible of their great loss, dismissed him with much grief".²⁵

France, then, does seem to have been an educative haven of sorts for Scottish students during the seventeenth century, if only a temporary one. In making decisions over where to study, destinations and host institutions do not seem to have been chosen based on religious

²⁰ 22 December 1617, Henry Erskine to his father, John Earl of Mar in *HMC Supplementary Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie* (London: 1930), 81.

²¹ Tucker, "Scottish Students", 117; Tucker, *Maitres et étudiants ecossais*, 58.

²² 22 December 1617, Mr John Schaw to the Earl of Mar, *National Archives of Scotland*, Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie, GD124/15/32/8.

²³ Boyd did not return to Scotland voluntarily; he was happy in France and was requested by James VI to take up a post at the University of Glasgow. R. Marshall, "Robert Boyd of Trochrig" in *DNB*, VII, 45–6.

²⁴ *Collections on the Life of Robert Boyd of Trochorege* in R. Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland*, 2 vols in 3 parts (Glasgow: 1834–1848), II, i, 27.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.

consideration. Yet there were individuals forced abroad who did not have the luxury of choosing their destinations. For religious exiles, a temporary stay may not only have been impossible, a wish to return to a country to whose government and church they were fundamentally opposed seems unlikely, and being abroad would surely offer them the opportunity to further the cause for which they were exiled.

Incarceration and Exile

The six protagonists of the 1605 General Assembly (Andrew Duncan, Robert Durie, John Forbes, John Sharp, Alexander Strachan and John Welsh) were briefly imprisoned in Scotland before being exiled to France.²⁶ Their separation “in seuerall chalmeris” of Blackness Castle, where “nane be sufferit to haue access unto theme, nor they thame selffis to meit togidder” suggests that, at this stage, they were not given the opportunity to plan any kind of subsequent civic disruption.²⁷ While all six exiles travelled to France together on 7 November 1606, from Leith to Bordeaux, once on the continent they chose to pursue individual agendas, and not all chose to remain in France.²⁸ Welsh stayed in Bordeaux before becoming minister of Jonzac in Angoumois, Duncan can be found in the College of La Rochelle, Sharp became professor at the University of Die in Dauphiné and Strachan died in Middleburgh not long after arriving. Forbes and Durie were the only two to remain geographically close; both travelled to Holland where Forbes worked as a preacher to English merchants and Durie became the first Minister of the Scottish Reformed Church in Leiden.²⁹

Despite carving out careers for themselves abroad, all six sought a return to Scotland. As early as 1607, John Welsh lamented that “there is na appeirance of our returning, or there going home”.³⁰ In the same

²⁶ Spottiswoode, *The History*, 487f; RPCS, VI, xlvi–lii.

²⁷ *Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, Chiefly Written by, or Addressed to, His Majesty King James the Sixth*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: 1851) I, 30.

²⁸ 16 July 1606, *Original Letters*, I, 370. This seems somewhat surprising given the large numbers of French Huguenots and Scottish Calvinists resident in Bordeaux, and the trading activity between Scotland and this port. S. Murdoch, “The French Connection: Bordeaux’s ‘Scottish’ networks in Context, c. 1670–1720” in G. Leydier, *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe* (Newcastle: 2007), passim.

²⁹ *Original Letters*, I, 156 n. 1; M’Crie, *Melville*, II, 292.

³⁰ 7 May 1607, John Welsh to Boyd of Trochrig in Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, II, i, 305.

year, "Alexander Strauchane, being diseased of the Flanders sicke-nesse...sent manie humble supplications to the King", although no clemency was granted.³¹ Further appeals were made despite precedents being unsuccessful. George Gladstanes, Archbishop of St Andrews, wrote to James VI, commenting that he was:

so importuned with Mr Robert Duries friends, that I must presume to propone to your majesty their petition, which is, that he hath written to them...therfor they desire that he may have licence [to] come home.³²

The Bishop of Aberdeen, Patrick Forbes, pleaded the case of his brother, asking if King James would be "graciously also extending your princely benevolence to my brethren, Mr Jhone Forbesse".³³ This raises questions over the importance of religion in such cases, as both Forbes and Gladstanes campaigned for the return of somebody fundamentally opposed to their own religious position; family affiliation and friendship being valued above religion.³⁴ John Sharp wrote to James before he had even left Scotland that "I now repent my self, and am wnfeinz-edly sorie; craiffing maist humblie your Maiesties pardoun and favour theranent".³⁵ Willingness to recant in order to remain at home raises questions over the dedication Sharp had to the Presbyterian cause, as

³¹ 1607 (n.d.), Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, VI, 689, see also *Original Letters*, I, 129 n. 2.

³² 17 April 1608 in Wodrow, *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers*, II, 262; 17 April 1608, Bishop of St. Andrews to James VI in *Original Letters*, I, 128–131. There are numerous more examples of this, from all the ministers exiled in 1606. Andrew Duncan, "eftir eight yeirs exile...putt up his supplication following for his release", 1613, Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, VII, 181. Duncan was allowed to return to Scotland, although he spoke constantly of the "miserie he susteained...by long imprisonment, and the exile of manie years". Robert Durie and John Forbes wrote to James VI personally to plead their loyalty, 24 July 1616, Forbes to James VI, *Original Letters*, I, 158–160. John Welsh eventually obtained permission to return to England on account of his health, and continued to try and gain leave to return to Scotland, Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, VIII, appendix, 119. In 1618, John Sharp wrote to the Bishop of St. Andrews, asking him to intercede with the King for liberty for him to return to Scotland, 9 July 1618, Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, VII, 311–2.

³³ 9 September 1618, Bishop of Aberdeen to James VI in *Original Letters*, II, 582–3.

³⁴ The cases outlined here are not anomalies; similar attitudes can be found throughout the period and in a variety of countries. For example, Colonel Robert Monro, who fought in a Scottish regiment in Danish service in the Thirty Years' War, describes his love for Colonel Hepburn while simultaneously speaking of his disregard for papists, although he knew that Hepburn was a Catholic. For this, and other examples, see Murdoch, *Network North*, 77, 120–2; W. Brockington, *Monro, His Expedition With the Worthy Scots Regiment Called Mac-Keys* (London: 1999), 203.

³⁵ 1606 (n.d.), Sharp to King James in *Original Letters*, I, 30–1.

he was willing to compromise his Presbyterian beliefs and live as part of an Episcopal regime.

This was not an uncommon theme; many Presbyterians in Scotland began to accept the modified Episcopacy of 1610, in the hope that it might provide the Kirk with a rest from controversy.³⁶ Similarly, there were ‘Episcopalians’ who did not reject Calvinism. Later in the century, as religious controversy persisted, Archbishop Hamilton stated that “Calvin was a great man in the Church of Christ...for he wrote with much prudence and erudition...personally I happen to be [among] the disciples of Calvin.”³⁷ Desire to return home, coupled with an acceptance of modified Episcopacy, certainly raises the question of whether these ministers were truly dedicated to the cause for which they were exiled.

Communication and Networks

Andrew Melville enjoyed a close relationship with his nephew James, and some epistolary correspondence between them survives from between 1608 and 1613.³⁸ Melville was also in close correspondence with John Forbes and Robert Durie. In 1612 Forbes visited Melville at Sedan³⁹ and John Durie, Robert’s son, studied under Melville.⁴⁰ William MacDowel, a St. Andrews graduate and a former student of Melville’s, was one of the original six professors at Groningen when that university was established in 1614.⁴¹ While this can be seen as suggestive of a confessional network on the continent with Melville at its centre, in reality it merely indicates the widespread nature of

³⁶ A. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent* (Edinburgh: 1956), 86.

³⁷ 15 March 1654, Hamilton to Axel Oxenstierna, Königsberg, Swedish Riksarkivet, *Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brevvexling*, E619; Murdoch, *Network North*, 105–6.

³⁸ M’Crie, *Melville*, II, v.

³⁹ R. Greaves, “Robert Durie” in *DNB*, XVII, 412–3; M’Crie, *Melville*, II, 292.

⁴⁰ M’Crie, *Melville*, II, 303; Drummond, *Kirk and the Continent*, 66; A. MacInnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660* (Basingstoke: 2005), 71. While it has previously been stated that John Durie and Andrew Melville were cousins, more recently Steve Murdoch has argued that in fact they may have been uncle and nephew. For this argument, see S. Murdoch, “Kith and Kin: John Durie and the Scottish Community in Scandinavia and the Baltic, 1624–34” in P. Salmon and T. Barrow eds., *Britain and the Baltic* (Sunderland: 2003), 36.

⁴¹ G. Henderson, “John Forbes of Corse in Exile” in *The Aberdeen University Review*, XVII (Aberdeen: 1930), 32, 35.

the Scottish community abroad in this period; it is not surprising that Melville would pay particular attention to sons of his friends and his relations.⁴² Thus, his network appears more social than confessional.

Correspondence between Calvinist Scots on the continent suggests that preserving existing friendships was a primary interest, and concern for personal and family welfare was placed above concern for Presbyterianism. Of all his associates (with the exception of his nephew James) Melville felt the most attached to Robert Durie, and correspondence between the two indicates that friendship was the primary motivation for this connection.⁴³ Exchanges of letters demonstrate concern for the other's health and the health of families, but there is no mention of religious ambition.⁴⁴ Robert Durie and John Forbes remained in close contact throughout their period of exile; John Welsh and Robert Boyd of Trochrig were acquainted in Scotland, a friendship renewed upon Welsh's arrival in France. Yet letters preserved, without exception, concern personal issues, rather than following political or religious agendas.⁴⁵ John Forbes also maintained contact with Boyd, consistently demonstrating concern for his wife and family. The only comments made regarding religion were that:

we should indeed have the more heart to come home, if all things were at peace. For my own part, I neither desire to see, nor to be a partner any more of the troubles of our church.⁴⁶

Not only did Forbes not desire to remain in France, he makes it clear that he would prefer a peaceful Episcopalian settlement for the church to a fraught Presbyterian one.

Robert Boyd appears to have been the focus of much correspondence between Scots in France in this period rather than Andrew Melville, and professors of many academies in France wrote to him,

⁴² Connections amongst ex-patriates on the continent emerged in many different circumstances, and the very existence of such a community cannot therefore be seen as indicative of a 'grand plan'. See Murdoch, *Network North*, passim; Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, passim, especially sections II and III.

⁴³ M'Crie, *Melville*, II, 309.

⁴⁴ 1612 (n.d.), Melville to Durie in Howie, *Scots Worthies*, 265; 24 May 1616, same to same reproduced in M'Crie, *Melville*, II, 529–30 and in Howie, *Scots Worthies*, 265.

⁴⁵ For all letters preserved, see Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, II, i, 278–334.

⁴⁶ 10 May 1618, Forbes to Boyd in Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, II, i, 139.

especially Scotsmen.⁴⁷ Boyd remained interested in the status of the ministers exiled in 1606, and at least one of these, Forbes, visited him at Saumur before proceeding to meet Melville at Sedan.⁴⁸ Boyd kept himself informed of the ministers' whereabouts, hearing from Monsieur Montmartine immediately after the ministers' exile that "Mr Welsh is now preaching most peaceably and freely at Bordeaux".⁴⁹ In 1608 William Hairt requested a meeting "at Rochell, that [I] may have all [your] Scots newse", adding his own news of Andrew Duncan and John Welsh.⁵⁰ Boyd was also made aware of Melville's move to France by George Sibbald in May 1611; "Melville is come to Rouen from his long confinement in the Tower: he expects [to be] at Paris in a day or two".⁵¹ These contacts continued throughout the period, in 1623 a friend in the French Reformed Church reporting news of "Scots affairs from one Mr Welsh...and Mr Forbes at Delft".⁵² Boyd seems to have been the primary source of contact between exiles on the continent, and there was also significant contact with Scots at home. Numerous surviving letters indicate relationships between John Forbes and John Welsh on the continent and Robert Bruce, a staunch opponent of Episcopacy, in Scotland.⁵³ These links continued despite the length of many of the periods of exile, Forbes in 1606 signing a letter to Bruce "Your loving brother in the Lord, and fellow sufferer for His truth", Welsh writing in a similar tone in November 1619.⁵⁴

While the evidence presented here can be seen as suggestive of a confessional network, on examination it does not portray any desire by those who were part of it to continue to strive for a re-imposition of Presbyterianism on Scotland. Andrew Melville enjoyed what could be seen as adulation in Sedan; his notoriety in Scotland ensured that all

⁴⁷ Ibid., 4, 27.

⁴⁸ G. Sprott, "John Forbes" in *DNB*, XX, 293–4.

⁴⁹ 29 June 1607, Montmartine to Boyd in Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, II, 54.

⁵⁰ 1 July 1608, William Hairt to Boyd in Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, 59.

⁵¹ 14 May 1611, George Sibbald to Boyd in *ibid.*, 97. Boyd and Melville demonstrably kept in touch, and after Melville's death, Boyd eulogised him as "that venerable father of our church, the ornament of his nation, and great light of this age". McCrie, *Melville*, II, 320 n.

⁵² 2 March 1623, Monsieur Andrew Rivet to Boyd in Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, II, i, 356.

⁵³ Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, VI, 59; J. Kirk, "Robert Bruce" in *DNB*, VIII, 323–4.

⁵⁴ Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, VI, 551–6; *Original Letters*, II, 619–620.

travelling to France knew of him. It was perhaps this notoriety, rather than his religious ideas, that sparked desire in Scottish Calvinists in France to hear his teachings. Furthermore, not all of those taught by Melville followed his beliefs. John Durie became an Irenicist rather than following Melville's Presbyterian teachings and furthermore, while the signing of the National Covenant in 1638 has been seen as the realisation of Melville's 'legacy': John Forbes of Corse, a prominent student of Melville at Sedan, refused to sign and actively opposed the National Covenant.⁵⁵

Influence at Home

*My heart is a Scotch heart, and as good or better nor ever it was...who can tell when out of this confusion it may please [the Lord] to draw out some good order, and to the comfort of his children and belief of his servants? Courage, Courage, brother!*⁵⁶

Of all the Scottish Calvinists abroad, Andrew Melville still emerges as the one most passionate about influencing the Kirk. In one letter to James Melville he comments that:

I am preparing for a greater undertaking: join with me in wishing it success. I shall execute it...and shall not dishonour myself or you...I must prepare to defend the cause in the best manner I can.⁵⁷

He speaks of "preparing for the combat", urging James to "not hesitate to act a courageous part in the cause".⁵⁸ To an unnamed friend in Scotland, he talks of his religious beliefs, writing:

this I paure in your bosome...to be communicated in part or whole, at your discretion, to suche as yee know will thanks God...unto whom I present my loving commendations one by one.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ S. Mandelbrote, "John Dury and the Practice of Irenicism" in N. Aston ed., *Religious Change in Europe 1650–1914; Essays for John McManners* (Oxford: 1997); A. Milton, "The Unchanged Peacemaker? John Dury and the politics of Irenicism in England, 1628–1643" in M. Greengrass, M. Leslie and T. Raylor eds., *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge: 1994); J. Minton Batten, *John Dury—Advocate of Christian Reunion* (Chicago: 1944); G. Westin, *John Dury in Sweden 1636–1638: Documents and Letters* (Uppsala: 2005); D. Mullan, "John Forbes of Corse" in *DNB*, XX, 295–6.

⁵⁶ Howie, *Scots Worthies*, 265.

⁵⁷ 1608 (n.d.), Andrew to James Melville in M'Crie, *Melville*, II, 204–5.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ 4 September 1608 in Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, VI, 783–5.

Select of the exiled ministers seem to demonstrate similar determination. John Forbes wrote a number of treatises while abroad, all of which are written in English, primarily for consumption by his English-speaking flock but potentially intended for use at home. The language, along with the very titles of these works, makes it clear that they were intended for distribution; one, published in London in 1617, was dedicated to “the publike use of the church”.⁶⁰ John Sharp continued to preach and write theology, and openly declared his support for Presbyterianism in Scotland.⁶¹ However, no evidence has yet been found of any direct action being taken to pursue a Presbyterian agenda at home, and the writings of John Forbes are the only evidence discovered which can in any way be seen as attempting to influence the Scottish Kirk.

While it has been suggested that the exile of these characters was “worse than useless”, as it gave them an opportunity to write with greater freedom and allowed these works to flow back into Scotland as an “endless stream of polemical literature”, no works fitting this description have been uncovered.⁶² Some of Melville’s beliefs did continue to penetrate Scotland after his exile: John Hume, at Sedan, wrote to John Adamson, minister of Libberton in Lanarkshire in 1620 that “Thaire is ane distiche I have seen of Mr Melvine’s quich if yee have it not yet, it wold not be unproper to joyne amongst the rest”.⁶³ Yet this can hardly be attributed to any deliberate intention of Melville’s; individual interest in Melville’s writings, given his notoriety, is hardly surprising. While there is evidence of Scots with Presbyterian sympathies financing the book trade abroad (primarily in Leiden and Amsterdam) there is nothing to suggest that these Scots used their position to attempt to disseminate Presbyterian writings in Scotland. Andro Hart, a fervent Presbyterian and the wealthiest Scottish book trader of the time, commissioned a New Testament and Psalms

⁶⁰ J. Forbes, *A letter first written and send by John Forbes, pastour of the English Church at Middelburgh unto certaine of the companie of merchants adventurers at Stoad, at their earnest desire* (London: 1617; first published Middelburgh: 1616); *A fruitful sermon made by the reverend and learned Mr. John Forbes... Published by some of his flock out of sincere affection for common good* (Amsterdam: 1626); *A treatise tending to cleare the doctrine of justification...for the instruction of his flocke: and now published by some of them for the good of others* (Middelburgh: 1616).

⁶¹ V. Wells, “John Sharp” in *DNB*, L, 23–4.

⁶² S. Burrell, “The Covenant Idea as a Revolutionary Symbol: Scotland 1596–1637” in *Church History*, XXVII (1958), 348.

⁶³ 9 March 1620, Hume to Adamson in *Original Letters*, II, 621–3.

volume from the Dort printer Isaac Canin, along with works from other printers. His wife, Janet Kene, was from a family who were strong supporters of Melville, yet no suggestion has been found that she or her family attempted to influence Presbyterianism in Scotland through Hart's trade.⁶⁴

It has been suggested that "with the removal of these [ministers] the heart went out of the clerical resistance [to Episcopacy]" in Scotland.⁶⁵ Yet under Charles I local support began to emerge, implying that any action the exiled ministers may have taken to exert Presbyterian influence on Scotland was only able to realise its potential when coupled with this political climate; that they were not integral to continued resistance to Episcopacy.⁶⁶ It has been suggested that a "little band of Melvillian enthusiasts in 1638 emerged from the shadows to claim the spiritual leadership of the Covenanting movement". However, all but one of the exiled ministers (John Welsh) were deceased by this juncture.⁶⁷ The use of Melville by other parties, for example by the Covenanters, who justified their actions by maintaining that they were completing plans originally laid by Melville, implies that the beliefs of Melville penetrated Scottish thought in the development of the National Covenant.⁶⁸ Yet the Covenanting revolution, while going further than any but a tiny majority had contemplated in 1637, did not go nearly as far as those who were truly converted to Melville's thought wished. Moreover, the majority of Presbyterians at this point favoured their own methods over any direct implementation of Melville's ideals, and claims that the Glasgow Assembly of 1637 "restored Andrew

⁶⁴ A. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500–1720* (East Linton: 2000), 86–7.

⁶⁵ M. Lee, *Government by Pen: Scotland under James VI and I* (London: 1980), 66–8.

⁶⁶ J. Kirk, "Reformation and Revolution, Kirk and Crown 1580–1690" in J. Wormald ed., *Scotland Revisited* (London: 1991), 83–4; D. Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Stirling: 1988), 17.

⁶⁷ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830* (Glasgow: 1969), 62. The use of the term 'Melvillian' has been recently questioned, as there was arguably no such 'Melvillian party' in existence. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, 125, 125 n. 6, 175.

⁶⁸ D. Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution, 1637–1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters* (London: 1973), 106. Claims such as that of James Kirk that "[Melville's] beliefs helped to shape the covenanting struggle in the seventeenth century" must now be qualified. J. Kirk, "Andrew Melville" in *DNB*, XXXVII, 771. Similarly, Stevenson goes too far in suggesting that "the lay Covenanters adopted the Melvillian church policy", *Scottish Revolution*, 107.

Melville's Presbyterian church structure" must be qualified.⁶⁹ If a true 'Melvillian' eldership had been introduced, this would have entailed surrender by the laity of their new hold on the Kirk; unsurprisingly, this was unpopular.⁷⁰

As early as the 1590s, "recourse to...Erastian precedents demonstrated no convincing support for Melvillianism", and regardless of the somewhat 'Melvillian' associations of the legislative programme of the Glasgow Assembly, it was not intent on Presbyterian autonomy.⁷¹ Despite claims that Melville possessed "an ascendancy over the public mind...greater than that exerted by any acknowledged leader",⁷² any influence Melville did have in Scotland arguably died out as early as 1596. Talk of a National Covenant during what was to all intents and purposes an evangelical revival in this year was later hailed by some as "the morning star of the National Covenant", yet this has since been more convincingly viewed as "the evening star of Melvillian dusk".⁷³ Since 1596,

opposition to the crown's intervention in the affairs of the Kirk had dwindled, and those who remained opposed to the King were sidelined, bereft of support...the majority within the Kirk was amenable to royal policy.⁷⁴

To view Melville as instrumental in the development of the Covenant is perhaps to endorse the history of the period and Melville with a retrospective weight they do not deserve. Furthermore, between Melville's exile in 1611 and the signing of the National Covenant in 1638, no Scottish divine advocated rebellion in an immediate national context and, even among the most radical of Presbyterians, there was not any mass movement towards a clear theory, suggesting that any influence Melville or the other exiles had was limited and that they certainly did not succeed in rallying active support (if this was ever their

⁶⁹ M. Lee, *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625–37* (Illinois: 1985), 242.

⁷⁰ Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, 299–303.

⁷¹ A. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement* (Edinburgh: 1991), 173, 189.

⁷² M'Crie, *Melville*, II, 327–8.

⁷³ E. Cowan, "The Making of the National Covenant" in J. Morrill ed., *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context* (Edinburgh: 1990), 71. P. Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (London: 2002) makes no mention of Melville in relation to the Covenanting movement.

⁷⁴ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 98.

intention).⁷⁵ Suggestions that Melville's "spiritual experience...[and] fruitfulness in converting souls...[were to] be found unparalleled in Scotland"⁷⁶ disregards the fact that several of his contemporaries were just as unflinching in their opposition to Episcopacy; Melville was simply the first to heavily denounce it.⁷⁷

Melville's influence and success in revitalising university education in Scotland has perhaps led to him being revered more than reality would permit, and his influence has consequently been seen as strong in all spheres instead of being rightfully confined to the sphere of education.⁷⁸ One only has to look at accounts such as those of Robert Baillie to recognise that, to those drafting the document, Melville was certainly not seen to be influential in the emergence of the National Covenant, instead simply being seen as one of the "famous men of our University".⁷⁹

Continued influence in Scotland of the other exiled ministers can be similarly questioned. The severity of exile as a punishment arguably increased the nation's aversion to Episcopacy and a formal protest, led by Andrew Melville, took place against the confession in mid-1606. Here, people discussed "the wardit ministers" and the violence they suffered during their incarceration in Blackness Castle.⁸⁰ Yet inevitably, as years passed and the country began to acclimatise to its Episcopal Kirk and government, these feelings faded and it is unlikely that such sentiments were experienced to the same degree later in the century. Certainly, except for personal friends who campaigned for their return to Scotland, no evidence has yet been unearthed to suggest that these exiled ministers were still in public consciousness later in the period.

⁷⁵ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 254.

⁷⁶ Howie, *Scots Worthies*, 297.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁷⁸ J. Kirk, "Andrew Melville" in DNB, XXXVII, 766–771; M'Crie, *Melville*, II, 448.

⁷⁹ 23 May 1660, Baillie to William Douglas, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen in D. Laing ed., *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, 1637–1662*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: 1841–1842) III, 402–3. J. Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs*, 3 vols (Aberdeen: 1841); P. Gordon, *A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper: from the Yeare of God 1639 to 1649* (Aberdeen: 1844) and J. Spalding, *The history of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England from 1624 to 1645* (Edinburgh: 1828) fail to mention Melville even in passing.

⁸⁰ M'Crie, *Melville*, II, 124–6; Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, VI, 292–332; *RPCS*, VI, 123 n. 1.

Conclusion

There was clearly a much more significant community of Calvinist Scots in France than one might expect, or than has been hitherto investigated. While episodes such as the La Rochelle campaigns and the declaration of war on France by Britain in 1627 have been assumed to have adversely affected the position of Scottish Calvinists in France, especially those who were closely connected to the Huguenot population, this does not appear to have been the case.⁸¹ If this was indeed a period of 'crisis' in the lives of the Huguenot communities, one might also expect it to have affected Scots connected with them, for example John Welsh, who took up the post of pastor at St. Jean d'Angély, in close proximity to La Rochelle. However, mention of these campaigns has not been found in any correspondence scrutinised for this chapter.

France should no longer simply be viewed as a 'Catholic haven' for religious refugees and students in this period, as the Scottish Presbyterian community in France was also substantial. The temporary stays sought by many, and evident desires of most to return to their homeland suggest that Scots abroad had a vested interest in the outcome of religious controversy at home; yet the ministers exiled for their involvement in the General Assembly of 1605 did not continue to fight for a re-imposition of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Their own desires to return to their homeland, coupled with apparent apathy over Scotland's religion, suggest that nobody desired any more controversy within the Kirk. This re-emphasises that personal, rather than religious concerns, were at the forefront of the minds of even the most devout Presbyterian and, although there were undoubtedly individuals in Scotland who did emphasise religion, these individuals were not those of the highest profile.

Melville himself, while previously viewed as the archetypal Presbyterian wishing to lead a cavalry of fellow exiles towards a re-imposition of Presbyterianism on Scotland, can surely no longer be viewed in this light. While he may have desired this personally, no evidence has been unearthed of these desires being actively shared by his fellow exiles and, while religious debates continued openly until the Claim of

⁸¹ J. Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: 1864), I.

Right in 1689, neither Andrew Melville nor the men punished for their involvement in the 1605 General Assembly seem to have ever played the roles of protagonists in these debates again. Views that they were instrumental to the path of religion in Scotland must now be qualified. Melville's heart was undoubtedly Scotch: yet the National Covenant was not 'Melvillian'.

UNDER THE HABSBURGS AND THE STUARTS: THE LESLIES' PORTRAIT GALLERY IN PTUJ CASTLE, SLOVENIA

Polona Vidmar

Walter Leslie (1606–1667), the second son by the third marriage of John Leslie, tenth Baron of Balquhain, had already established himself among the *Hofadel* (court nobility) of the Austrian Habsburg Empire by 1656, when he bought the castle of Ptuj (Oberpettau) on the south-eastern edges of the Holy Roman Empire.¹ He could look back on a remarkable military and diplomatic career and the social success he had achieved since leaving Scotland. Indeed, Leslie had been in the service of armies on the European continent for ten years prior to becoming involved in the plot against the Imperialist General Albrecht Wallenstein and his supporters, actions which culminated in the execution of Wallenstein and his allies in Eger (Cheb) in 1634. The first of the plotters to arrive at the court of Emperor Ferdinand II, Leslie was awarded the post of Imperial Chamberlain and given command of two regiments. Following that, he received a grand estate at Nové Město nad Metují (Neustadt an der Mettau) in Bohemia and, in 1637, acquired the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire.² Consequently, he started to play a role in diplomatic negotiations on behalf of Ferdinand III and achieved remarkable promotions as regards his military career, receiving a prestigious appointment to the position of Imperial field marshal and becoming a general on the so-called 'Croatian-Slavonian military frontier'. In 1647, he consolidated his position by marrying Anna Francesca, a daughter of Prince Maximilian of Dietrichstein, while his greatest success of all was probably his spectacular ambassadorial visit to Constantinople in 1665 and 1666, for which he was bestowed with the Order of the Golden Fleece. Moreover, the story of the central

¹ See David Worthington, "‘On the High Post-Way Between Vienna and Venice’: The Leslie Family in Slovenia", *The Legacy of the Leslie Family at the Castle of Ptuj* (Ptuj: 2002), 81–86 (with literature and sources); David Worthington, 'A Stuart-Austrian Habsburg intermediary: The life of Walter Leslie (1606–67)', *History Scotland*, 2/4 (2002), 29–34; David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: 2003); Petr Mata, *Svet České aristokracie (1500–1700)* (Prague: 2004).

² Worthington, "On the High Post-Way", 83.

European Leslies prior to 1688 by no means ends with Walter. In the lack of any offspring from his marriage with Anna Francesca, in 1655, he arranged that his nephew James be sent from Scotland to Styria to inherit his estates in the Habsburg lands. James also developed a court and military career. He was appointed a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Emperor Leopold I, was colonel and proprietor of an Imperial infantry regiment, became an Imperial field marshal, fought in the battle for the liberation of Vienna in 1683, all this besides being successful in ensuing encounters with the Ottomans. James married Princess Maria Theresa of Liechtenstein in 1666 and acquired further properties for the family in Styria, including the so-called *Leslie-hof* in Graz (1684) and the nearby castle of Pernegg (1688). Furthermore, during his lifetime, two younger brothers came from Scotland to the Habsburg Empire. William Aloysius was a Jesuit canon in Breslau (Wrocław) and presumably resided with Count James at one of his estates.³ The other brother, Alexander, married Christine Cressentia, Countess of Herberstein, heiress of the castle Vurberk (Wurmberg), the neighbouring property to the Ptuj estate, but was killed by an Ottoman mine during the Siege of Vienna.⁴

This chapter discusses the Scottish origins of these central European Leslies, the wealth, successful military careers and high social positions achieved by Walter, James and Alexander, and how their background and achievements influenced the architectural development and equipment of their acquired castles and palaces. Above all, the chapter deals with the family iconography and the messages which the Counts of Leslie intended to transmit to their guests and visitors. Archival sources, preserved sections of buildings and art works, testify that the Counts renovated the aforementioned castles and palaces and equipped them with ceiling paintings, stucco, sculptures, furniture, oil paintings and tapestries. Many of these alterations have not survived to this day, but what has remained is of great significance. Above all, the ceiling—and oil paintings are suggestive of the Leslies' military success, the obtaining of the Order of the Golden Fleece and their connections to the Houses of Stuart and Habsburg.

³ See Worthington, "On the High Post-Way", 85. William Aloysius is the presumed author of the family genealogy *Laurus Leslaeana...*, published in Graz in 1692. The genealogy contains two copperplates, depicting a portrait of Count James besides a family tree.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The family portraits

A copperplate portrait of Walter Leslie, made *ad vivum* by the Augsburg engraver Lucas Kilian in 1637, depicts the newly established Count of the Holy Roman Empire in a suit of armour, with the empty spaces beneath the oval cartouche filled with trophies of war. At the time the portrait was made, Count Walter was above all a soldier. Yet, in his later years, after his successful diplomatic mission to the Sultan Mehmed IV, he had another very different copperplate portrait made, which depicts him clad in ambassador's garments and decorated with the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁵ A further copperplate portrait of Count Walter in his ambassadorial attire was executed in Venice by Leonard Henry van Otteren.⁶ Besides, on an additional oil portrait, also done in his later years, Walter Leslie appears once more as Imperial ambassador with the chain of the Golden Fleece around his neck.⁷ Meanwhile, the only known portrait of James Leslie emphasizes only his battlefield career, A.M. Wolfgang depicting him as a military commander. The space beneath the oval frame is filled with the Leslie coat-of-arms, inscriptions and decorated with trophies of war, which are more specific than those on Walter's portrait of this type. On the left side there are weapons of European style while, on the right are depicted a turban, bow, quiver and a banner with a crescent, a reminder of James' successes in the Ottoman wars.⁸ The family tree contained in the genealogical tract *Laurus Leasleana* in 1692⁹ also highlights the military careers of the Balquhain branch of the Leslies.

⁵ The presumed portraitist is Franciscus van der Steen, who worked in Vienna for the Emperor Leopold I. Polona Vidmar, *Turqueries, Orientals and Virtuous Heroes* (Ptuj: 2007), 4. The portrait, which contains the signature *F.v.S.S.C.M.sc.* was a part of the Latin version of Paulus Tafferner's travel journal to the Ottoman Empire *Caesaria legatio* published in 1668. Tafferner accompanied Walter Leslie to Istanbul as confessor.

⁶ Vidmar, *Turqueries*, 7.

⁷ The portrait, painted by an unknown author, is kept at the castle Nové Město nad Metují. In the words of the present castle owner, the portrait was originally kept in the monastery in the town Nové Město nad Metují, founded by Count James. In the mid-nineteenth century, this portrait was used by Carl Agricola and Robert Theer as a source of imitation for the lithography, a part of the portfolio *Familien-Portraite und Historische Bilder aus dem Fürstlich Dietrichstein'schen Hause*.

⁸ Igor Weigl, 'In a caftan before the Emperor, with the Haiduks around Graz and with a Library in Ptuj. The Counts Leslie and their City and Country Residences in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century', *The Legacy of the Leslie Family*, 91.

⁹ See footnote 4.

Trophies of war and depictions of battles illustrate the side relating to the Leslies of Balquhain, whereas on the side covering the Leslies of Rothes, liturgical objects and vestments, books, a church with a statue of St. Mary and a monastery can be seen.

*Works of Art commissioned by Counts Walter,
James and Alexander Leslie*

Walter Leslie demonstrated his position in the Empire through renovation of at least one religious establishment, besides of his acquired castles at Nové Město nad Metují and Ptuj.¹⁰ During the mid-part of the century, he saw to the equipment of the chapels of St. Barbara and St. Anne in the Viennese *Schottenkirche* ('Scotic' church): to this day, these chapels are decorated with the Leslie and Dietrichstein coats-of-arms, Walter and his nephews James and Alexander having all been buried there. With respect to the castles, however, in the years 1652–1660 Walter started on the restoration of his Nové Město nad Metují property, employing an Italian constructor besides stucco-workers of Italian origin who were then working in Prague.¹¹ Consequently, the staircase leading to the great hall was decorated by Giovanni Battista Bianchi with stucco-cartouches depicting the Leslie coat-of-arms and portraits of Roman Emperors crowned with laurel. Around 1660, Walter Leslie commissioned Fabián Václav Harovník from Prague for ceiling paintings, not only for the great hall, but for ten other rooms besides the chapel.¹² Harovník depicted scenes from Greek and Roman mythology, Roman history as well as some actions from the Trojan War, while the walls and the ceiling of the round room connected to the great hall were covered with scenes

¹⁰ Weigl, 'In a caftan', 90.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Harovník was first mentioned in 1637 and died in 1683. He worked for several Bohemian noble families. In the early 1650's he painted for general Ottavio Piccolomini in Náchod, although, around 1660, he was working for Walter Leslie. In 1663, he painted under commission for Elisabeth Apollonia of Lobkowitz in Prague's Loreto and 1664–1669 for Prince Václav Eusebius of Lobkowitz (a Habsburg loyalist) in his palace at Prague castle. See Michal Šronek, 'Fabián Václav Harovník: Práce v Pražské Loretě, pozůstatek inkhorn', *Umění* XXXIV/5, (1986), 451. Michal Šronek and Lubomír Konečný, 'Malířská výzdoba Lobkovického paláce', *Umění* XLIII/5 (1995), 433.

from the legend of the Golden Fleece. As such a detailed depiction of the legend does not appear very often, this iconographical programme can be related to Count Walter's receiving of the Order, which represented the greatest family pride. More typical in this castle, however, are the depictions of the Leslie and Dietrichstein coats-of-arms within scenes depicting Olympic gods, while that of the former family also appears on a banner carried by a young man crowned with laurel. We may assume that the depiction of a festive procession of the triumphant Julius Caesar (and additionally adorned with a golden laurel crown by the personification of fame) alludes to the military career of Walter Leslie.¹³ In the most prominent place in the great hall appears a depiction of the apotheosis of the family in the form of the coats-of-arms of the two families being carried to the sky by angels, who are shown leaving an earthly sphere embellished with an obelisk and classical and baroque architecture and populated by personifications of cardinal and other virtues. On the throne sits a crowned lady with a mirror (a combination of *Aristocratia* and *Prudentia*), *Honor*, with two crowns of laurel standing in front of her. *Vigilantia*, *Temperantia* and *Fortezza* are seated on the steps while a lady and two *putti* are turning *Invidia* away from the throne.¹⁴ After Walter Leslie purchased Ptuj castle in 1656, he started reconstruction procedures there too.¹⁵ Most importantly, he initiated the rebuilding of this renaissance fortress into a representative early Baroque country residence, ambitiously-planned works that were completed by his nephew Count James. Several doorways and other architectural details of the renovated and newly-built parts of the castle were decorated with the Leslie coat-of-arms. Of great importance are the windows of the great hall and the chapel, where the characteristic detail of the

¹³ To the left of the depiction appears an elephant with a pedestal on his back. On the pedestal are two coats of arms with the Roman *formula* SPQR (Senatus Populusque Romanus). There is also an arrangement of counts' crowns and spears, painted as a trophy of war. Harovník painted a similar composition also for Prince Lobkowitz in the antechamber of Lobkowitz's palace. He used the series of Andrea Mantegna *The Triumphs of Caesar* as a source for both paintings. See Šronek and Konečný, 'Malířská výzdoba', 434.

¹⁴ See Šronek, 'Fábian Václav Harovník', 452. Harovník used the book of Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, published in Siena in 1613, which was in his possession, as a source for the depiction of personifications.

¹⁵ Weigl, 'In a caftan', 90–91.

coat-of-arms is connected with the obelisk, the contemporary sign of glory, in this case, of course, that of the Leslies. In the most prominent part in the castle, above the doorway leading from the great hall into the chapel, there is also a coat-of-arms in relief, decorated with the chain and the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Unfortunately, no information has been preserved regarding the ceiling painting in the great hall at Ptuj (where we might expect contents connected with the family iconography), as the original ceiling collapsed in the early-nineteenth century. More generally, there is little evidence of the paintings and other furnishings commissioned by Walter Leslie for his ambitiously reconstructed country dwellings.¹⁶ He apparently wished to document his journey to Istanbul in 1665 in a series of paintings (as some previous Imperial ambassadors had done) since he engaged a Dutch painter Ludwig to travel with him.¹⁷ However, Ludwig drowned while swimming in the Danube only a few weeks after their departure from Vienna, and so the only work of art preserving the memory of the honourable mission commissioned by Count Walter himself are probably the abovementioned portraits of him in his ambassadorial outfit. Yet, only a few years after the journey to Constantinople and after Count Walter's death in 1667, Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato published his apologetic work *Historia di Leopoldo Cesare...* in three parts (1669–1674). In the second part, published in 1670, Priorato extensively describes Count Walter's mission to Istanbul, while the text is accompanied by the copperplate depicting Walter Leslie by Leonard Henry van Otteren.¹⁸ Priorato's book contains also several portraits of important contemporaries (...*Ritratti de Principi, de Generali, e de Ministri Principali*) from different European

¹⁶ From the preserved art objects and a later inventory of movables, which had become a part of the family *fideicomisum* (entail) issued by Count James, we may assume that Count Walter had some of the rooms decorated with tapestries. They probably depicted the stories of Noah, St. James and Odysseus, and included the Leslie coat-of-arms. Four tapestries with scenes from the Odyssey are preserved in Ptuj castle. See Marjeta Ciglenečki, 'The Legacy of the Leslie Family at the Castle of Ptuj', *The Legacy of the Leslie Family*, 100–105.

¹⁷ Weigl, 'In a caftan', 89.

¹⁸ *Historia di Leopoldo Cesare, Continente le cose piu memorabili successe in Europa, dal 1656. fino al 1670. Descritta dal Co: Galleazzo Gualdo Priorato. Dedicata Alla Sacra Cesarea, Real Maesta dell' Imperatrice Leonora. Postoui li Ritratti de Principi, de Generali, gl' Assedy di Piazze, con le Scritture, Trattati, e Capitulationi nel fine. Parte Seconda. In Vienna d'Avstria, Apreso Gio. Battista Hacque, Stampator Academico* (1670).

countries and from the Ottoman Empire. An unknown painter used some of these as a model for his own series of portraits, which were kept in Vurberk castle until 1907, when they were brought to Ptuj castle by the Counts of Herberstein. The series includes sixteen portraits of Sultan Mehmed IV, Tsar Alexei Mihailovich, a Russian and two Polish generals, Moldavian, Transylvanian, Tatar, and Cossack generals, besides commanders and princes as well as five Ottoman pashas. An archival source describing this has not yet been found, although it may be assumed that the series was commissioned by either James or Alexander Leslie soon after 1670 in Vienna. After Alexander Leslie and Christina Crescentia of Herberstein wed in 1682, the series was brought to Vurberk castle while, around the same time, Alexander and Christine commissioned a painted series depicting the following: persons from the Ottoman Empire (Sultan Mehmed IV, a spahi, a janissary and some ladies), along with various individuals from distant, non-European countries, *femmes fortes*, English countesses, scenes from Greek-Roman mythology, from Tasso's epic *Jerusalem Delivered* and virtuous heroes from the time of the Roman republic. The extremely rich choice of topics was obviously prepared by an educated man. Could this have been Alexander Leslie himself? In *Laurus Laslaeana* one can find the sentence: "Alexander was very gifted spiritually and was very advanced in science. However, later he devoted much of his attention to studying military skills in which he excelled and achieved great fame for his courage..."¹⁹ Certainly, the depictions of Ottoman personalities can be understood as a reminiscence of Count Walter's mission to Mehmed IV in Constantinople, whereas the rare depictions of English countesses probably alludes in some way to the Leslie's family background.²⁰

Count James continued with the reconstruction works on the castles, besides purchasing numerous precious objects, like tapestries and

¹⁹ "Alexander hic insigni ingenio praeditus magnos fecit in litteris progressus, sed a studiis ad bellum abductus praeclaris pariter initiis majoris gloriae incrementis abunde praelusit..."

²⁰ Four preserved depictions follow Pierre Lombard's copperplate engravings of English countesses. Lombard published a folder of twelve engravings around 1662/63. His engravings were inspired by the paintings of van Dyck dating from the second half of the 1630's. The preserved paintings depict Dorothea, Countess of Sunderland, Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, Anne, Countess of Bedford and Anne Sophia, Countess of Carnarvon.

silver.²¹ He commissioned the statues of Neptune and what is supposed to be Ceres, which now stand in front of the main entrance at Nové Město nad Metují. The statue of Neptune holds the Leslie coat-of-arms in his hand, whereas Ceres holds that of the Liechtensteins. Generally, noblemen of the seventeenth century would have asked for their coat-of-arms to be held in the hands of Mars, Hercules or Apollo. We should probably assume that James Leslie found Neptune more appropriate to emphasise that the Leslies originated not just from a foreign country, but from overseas. In 1684, Count James bought a large palace in Graz to ensure his family a suitable residence in the capital of the province of Styria.²² A decade before, the palace had been rebuilt by the architect Domenico Sciacca. However, on the depiction entitled *Lesl hoff in Grätz* dating from the end of the seventeenth century, a large cultivated garden embellished with stone sculptures and marked with a tall obelisk is to be seen on the southern side. Three trellised portals connected the garden with the rooms on the palace ground floor. In one of these rooms, called the *sala terrena*, the ceiling painting is preserved. It is quite uncommon that a room connected with a garden would be equipped with frescoes depicting military motifs and Antique busts framed by imitated stucco-work. But, since the leading themes of this room are trophies of war, we may assume that the paintings were commissioned by Count James before he died in 1692. The central fresco depicts the Leslie coat-of-arms being carried to the sky by three angels, very similar to the apotheosis in Nové Město nad Metují. Since, in a side-vault, the angels are lifting armour and weapons skywards, there is no doubt that the paintings were commissioned by a nobleman whose self-conscience was a reflection of his military career. Count James demonstrated his high position further by founding a monastery in Nové Město nad Metují; the south entrance to the church of this monastery is decorated with the coats-of-arms of the Leslie, Dietrichstein and Liechtenstein families. In 1691, James probably also provided the main altar of the Holy Trinity church in Nové Město with a painting of the Holy Trinity, executed in Graz.²³

To summarize, the central-European branch of the Leslies, Counts Walter, James, Alexander and, most probably, William Aloysius, dem-

²¹ See Weigl, 'In a caftan', 92–93.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ See <http://www.tfsimon.com/nove-mesto-nad-metuji.htm>.

onstrated their high social position through renovation of their castles and palaces, the establishment of altars and monasteries, and by collecting and commissioning artworks. The iconography of these pieces reflects their origin, careers and other remarkable achievements. Of great significance is the immense variety of themes, including topics from Ancient mythology, history and epic literature through to important modern concerns, like their ethnographical interest in the Ottoman Empire and other foreign countries. Some of the motifs, such as the trophies of war, busts of Roman Emperors, obelisks and apotheosis of the family in the form of an elevated coat-of-arms, appear in a number of different artworks in their castles and palaces. We can assume that the iconographical programmes relating to family history were developed by an informed family member, most probably William Aloysius, the presumed author of *Laurus Leslaeana*, or perhaps Alexander Leslie.

Portraits of European sovereigns

The record of the series of portraits of European sovereigns from the seventeenth century dates from 1857 and mentions the paintings having been exhibited in the great hall at Ptuj, although the series is now kept in the north Bohemian castle of Frýdlant (Friedland).²⁴ Further documents bear witness to the purpose for commissioning the series, as well as to the author, date, commissioner and the place they were painted for. In 1858, Ferdinand Raisp, a steward at the Ptuj castle, at that time in the possession of Princes of Dietrichstein, published his chronicle of the town.²⁵ In the drafts for the book (1857) as well as in the book itself, Raisp mentioned nineteen paintings in the castle's great hall. Fourteen European sovereigns were depicted full-length and life-size, with Raisp identifying them as the following: the Emperor Ferdinand III, his wife Maria Anna, the Emperor Leopold I, his wife Margaret Theresa, the Spanish king Philip IV, his wife Maria, the king of England Charles I and his wife Henrietta, the king of England Charles II and his wife Eleanor (Catherine), the French king Henry

²⁴ Polona Vidmar, 'The Gallery of European Sovereigns in Ptuj Castle', *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 12 (2007), 65.

²⁵ Ferdinand Raisp, *Pettau. Steiermarks älteste Stadt und Ihre Umgebung* (Graz: 1858).

IV, the Duke of Bavaria, Ferdinand Maria, the French king Louis XIII and William of Orange. Five smaller portraits were hung above the fireplace and, according to Raisp, depicted James Ernst Leslie, his wife Louise, Carl Cajetan Leslie, his wife Maria Theresa, and William.²⁶ The later whereabouts of the oil paintings from the great hall in Ptuj castle are well documented, having been taken to Vienna in 1860²⁷ and in 1862 are mentioned as being kept in the Dietrichsteins' palace in the city's ninth district.²⁸ After the death of Prince Joseph of Dietrichstein in 1858, his daughter Clotilde had married Count Clam Gallas, following which she had inherited the palace in Vienna. But, in the late nineteenth century, the couple Clam Gallas transferred the portraits from there to their castle, Frýdlant in North Bohemia, and furnished the newly built so-called 'connecting gallery' there with the portraits of the sovereigns. Still, among the many portraits in Frýdlant, the aforementioned five portraits of the Leslies remain unidentified, mainly because they lack any inscriptions.²⁹

The portraits of the sovereigns are uniform in measurement (220 × 105 cm) and were painted as a single commission in the second half of the seventeenth century. All of them are copies after portraits painted by court painters. The painter remains unknown, but we may assume that he copied them in Vienna, where most of the originals were kept. The only exceptions are those of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, which were executed by another painter and must have come to the collection in some other way, possibly as gifts. Although there are again no preserved written sources for this, it might be assumed, principally because of the history of the Leslies', that the portrait series was commissioned by the Counts, most probably for the great hall of Ptuj castle, as the measurements of the paintings fit the walls of the hall perfectly. It would be necessary, of course, to provide an accurate identification of the sitters in order to support the hypothesis that

²⁶ See Raisp, *Pettau*, 31, 32.

²⁷ On 18 February 1860 Ferdinand Raisp wrote in a report to the administration of the Dietrichstein's estates, that the painting from Ptuj castle had been transported in four boxes to Vienna. A part of this report is a list of paintings from great hall and from the dining room. See Moravský Žemský Archiv v Brně, Hlavní registratura Ditrichštejnů, F 18, kart. 335, č. 334, inv. č. 1430.

²⁸ I would like to thank Petra Medrykova for this information.

²⁹ It may be assumed that Clotilde and Albrecht Clam Gallas transferred also five portraits of the Leslies as well as an oil painting from the dining room of Ptuj castle from Vienna to Frýdlant. Further research in the castle will be needed to prove this hypothesis, made difficult above all because the lack of any inscriptions.

the initial idea of the iconographic programme of the portrait gallery of the sovereigns, which came into being as the representation and (self) promotion of the commissioner, can be directly related to the family history of the Counts of Leslie in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, some sitters were falsely identified in Raisp's lists as well in the present inventory of Frýdlant castle.³⁰ In the castle inventory they are identified as: the Emperor Ferdinand III, his wife Maria Anna, the Emperor Leopold I, his wife Margaret Theresa, the Spanish king Philip IV, his wife Maria Anna, the king of England Charles I and his wife Henrietta, the king of England Charles II, William of Orange, the French king Henry IV, the French king Louis XIII, the Polish king Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki and the Polish queen consort Cecilia Renata. However, comparison with other contemporary portraits of the sovereigns and more importantly, the discovery of the portraits which served as models for the series, allows for the following revised identification of the sitters:

1. Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705; 1658–1705) ruled during the lifetime of Counts Walter, James and even his successor, James Ernst. The Emperor appears in armour and an ermine coat, with a baton in his right hand. The column and a curtain are customary elements of representative portraits. The portrait is a copy after the official portrait of Leopold I, now kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and attributed to an unknown Viennese court painter, one of the followers of Frans Luyckx. The copyist added the royal insignia. A similar copy can be found in the castle Rychnov nad Knežnou situated only 25 km from the Leslie's estate, Nové Město nad Metují.

2. The portrait of Leopold's first wife Margaret Theresa (1651–1673; empress since 1666) seems to be important as regards dating. We must assume that the portraits of the sovereigns were painted after 1666, when she married Leopold I, but before March 1673, as the empress died that year and Leopold wed Claudia Felicitas of Habsburg. In any case, the portrait is a copy after a portrait of the empress, kept in

³⁰ The portrait series does not belong to the highlights of Frýdlant's rich collections. It is not mentioned in the castle's on-line presentations, leaflets or even in the detailed Czech topography. The castle is famous because of one of his previous owners, general Albrecht of Waldstein Duke of Friedland (Frýdlant) and because of the hypothesis that it served as a model for Franz Kafka's novel *The Castle*.

Nürnberg.³¹ In 1666, James Leslie with his regiment had escorted the future empress on her way to the Viennese court;³² in the next year, she and the Emperor had attended his wedding with Maria Theresia of Liechtenstein.

3. Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–1657; 1637–1657), who bestowed Walter Leslie with the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire, appears in equestrian armour like his son, but without the festive coat. After the assassinations of Generals Tilly and Wallenstein in 1632 and 1634 respectively, Ferdinand III took over the command of the Imperial troops. The portrait is similar to the emperor's version in golden armour by the court painter Frans Luyckx, kept in Prague till 1648 and then transported to Sweden by Swedish troops; the portrait is now in Gripsholm.³³

4. Ferdinand's first wife Maria Anna (1606–1646; empress from 1631), mother of Leopold I, was the daughter of Philip III of Spain and the sister of Philip IV. The choice to paint the first wife of Ferdinand III seems to be a surprise, since his third wife, Eleonora Gonzaga, was still alive during the assumed formation of the portrait series (she died in 1686). Maria Anna appears probably as the mother of the then emperor Leopold I. The model was one of Luyckx's portraits of the Empress, probably the portrait kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum.³⁴

5. It seems that the painter combined elements of various portraits by Velazquez to paint Philip IV of Spain (1605–1665; 1621–1665).³⁵ Philip IV was the father of the Empress Margaret Theresa. His appearance in Ptuj could probably be connected with Leslies' serving in the Spanish army.

³¹ Paintings correspond in composition, the empresses dress, the background (including paintings hung on the back wall), the insignia and watch on her right hand; the difference can be seen in her left hand which holds a large handkerchief instead of a flower.

³² See Priorato, *Historia*, 64, 66 and 67. Priorato described the role of James Leslie in Villach, Feldkirchen and Friesach in Carinthia.

³³ Ernst Ebenstein, 'Der Hofmaler Franz Luyckx. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Malerei am österreichischen Hofe', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 26 (Wien: 1906–1907), 222. In Ebenstein's opinion the portrait in Gripsholm is an early work by Luyckx painted around 1638.

³⁴ Portrait with Inv. N. GG 3196.

³⁵ See Vidmar, 'Galerija', 72.

6. The model for the portrait of Philip's second wife, Maria Anna (1635–1696; queen since 1649), sister of Leopold I, was the official portrait of the queen, originally painted by Velazquez; however, it exists in many replicas throughout Spain and in other European courts.³⁶ After 1665, Maria Anna was the queen regent in the name of her son Charles. Together with the Imperial ambassador in Spain, she was the leader of the faction which interceded on behalf of Leopold I. In the presumed time of the portrait series being conceived, she was the queen regent of Spain.

7. and 8. The iconographic details on the portraits of the Polish king Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1640–1673; 1669–1673) and his wife Eleonora Maria Josefa (1653–1697, Polish queen since 1670; from 1678 married to Karl V duke of Lothringen), a half-sister of Leopold I, accentuate their wedding in the year 1670.³⁷ An angel on Eleonora's portrait touches the Polish crown with his left hand, whereas with his right hand he points out a medallion with Michael's portrait in miniature. On the pendant, an angel points out the Polish royal insignia, holding a trumpet (an attribute of *Fame*) in his right hand. Although the model for Eleonora's portrait is attributed to Benjamin Block and is kept in Vienna,³⁸ the model for king Michael's portrait has not been discovered yet. Moreover, the couple also appear on portraits kept in Rychnov nad Kněžnou; these are painted after the same models. It is evident from Eleonora's portrait in Vienna as well as from both portraits in Rychnov, that the mentioned iconographic details are an addition of the painter who worked for the Leslie's. Since the Polish king is the only European sovereign in the series accentuated with the personification of *Fame*, we may assume that there is some connection with the Leslie's successive fighting in the Polish army. The appearance of this lesser-known king and his marriage with a Habsburg princess in 1670 confirm the hypothesis that the series was painted around 1670.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁷ Since the portraits of Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki and his wife were rare in the former Austrian hereditary lands, Ferdinand Raisp misidentified them as being of Charles II of England and his wife Catherine.

³⁸ See Günther Heinz, 'Studien zur Porträtmalerei an den Höfen der österreichischen Erblande', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*, 59 (Vienna: 1963), 211.

9. The Bavarian prince elector Ferdinand Maria (1636–1679; 1651–1679) was a cousin of Leopold I. He was involved in the Imperial elections of 1658. The original portrait was painted by the court painter Johann Ulrich Mair as a state portrait from the first years of his reign; many replicas were painted after this portrait.³⁹

10. The model for the portrait of Charles I, King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1600–1649; 1625–1649) was the official or state portrait painted by Anthony Van Dyck in 1636.⁴⁰ Charles I is depicted in the robes of the Order of the Garter, the royal insignia laid out on the nearby table. Many copies of this representative portrait were sent to European rulers and given to loyal courtiers. The copies vary in size (the size of the original is 248,3 × 151,2 cm) depending on the social or court position of the receiver.

11. Some of the recipients also have a copy of the portrait of Henrietta Maria (1609–1669; 1625 in 1649), painted by Van Dyck in the same year.⁴¹ The queen consort appears in a precious velvet robe, trimmed with ermine and decorated with pearls and precious stones. There are no insignia on the table, but a vase with red roses.

The portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria differ the other portraits in the series in artistic execution. They are the only portraits in the series to be attributed to a known painter in the Frýdlant castle inventory (falsely to Peter Lely). It is possible that both portraits came from England and that these paintings stimulated the counts of Leslie to commission the series of portraits of European sovereigns. Although all of those in the series are based on originals, only these two portraits are exact copies.

12. The sitter in the next portrait has not been identified yet, as the model for the painting is still unknown. He appears in armour and

³⁹ Reinhold Baumstark, 'Abbild und Überhöhung in der höfischen Malerei unter Henriette Adelaide und dem jungen Max Emanuel', *Kurfürst Max Emanuel, Bayern und Europa um 1700, 1: Zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte der Max-Emanuel-Zeit* (Munich: 1976), 172.

⁴⁰ The portrait is kept in the Royal Collection in Windsor.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* I was not able to find this portrait from 1636 or even a copy of it. But the portrait of Henrietta Maria by the studio of Van Dyck in Maryland State Archives (MSA SC 1545–1100) dated 1632, matches with the painting in Frýdlant in every detail.

holds a commander's baton in his right hand. There is a helmet with red and white feathers on the table and a nautical landscape in the background, although the royal insignia are not depicted. In Frýdlant Castle, the sitter is referred as William of Orange, but it is more likely to be a portrait of Charles II, the king of England, Scotland and Ireland (1630–1685; 1660–1685). The features and the coiffure of the sitter correspond to those of Charles II, as painted by the studio of Joseph Michael Wright (The National Portrait Gallery, London). A similar portrait of Charles II, painted by Philippe de Champaigne in 1653, is kept in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Charles II wears armour, holds a commander's baton in his right hand, his left hand lying on his sword. There is a helmet with red and white feathers on the table. Charles II commissioned this portrait during his exile in France; he points to the sea beyond the Dover cliffs, and the waiting fleet reveals his intention to return to England. The suit of armour on both Champaigne's portrait and on the portrait in Frýdlant represents Charles' rank and status. However, in the context of the Ptuj gallery of European sovereigns, an essential difference in the depictions of Charles I and Charles II can be observed. Despite the fact that Charles II was king when the portraits were painted, he is depicted as an army leader, unlike his father who wears the stately attire. At this stage of the research, it is impossible to prove whether this difference is a consequence of sources available to the painter or of the commissioners' intentions to accentuate Charles I. The second possibility seems to be more credible, since Charles I is emphasized also with the appearance of his wife.

13. The next portrait depicts Henry IV, the king of France and Navarre (1555–1610; 1572/1589–1610) in full suit of armour. A crown and a helmet lie on the table nearby. Henry IV, the first monarch of the Bourbon dynasty, was involved in the Wars of Religion. He enacted the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which guaranteed religious liberty to the Protestants, despite converting himself from Calvinism to Catholicism. The model for Henry's portrait was probably the portrait by Frans Pourbus Jr., now in the Louvre, although some details are changed.⁴²

⁴² Edouard Michel, *Catalogue Raisonné des Peintures du Moyen-Age, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes. Peintures Flamandes du XV^e et du XVI^e Siecle*, Musée National du Louvre (Paris: 1953), kat. N. 2070, 243–244. Michel cites many copies of this portrait, one of them existing in the old Czartoryski collection in Vienna

14. Although in Frýdlant castle the last of the sitters is identified as Charles II of England, it is most probably a portrait of Louis XIII, king of France. He is depicted in a suit of armour with a white *l'écharpe* like his father; the white feathers on the helmet and the depicted crown are identical to those on the portrait of Henry IV. The model for the portrait of Louis XIII remains unknown, although my personal belief is that the painter combined the feathers and coiffure of Louis XIII—as depicted on several portraits by Philippe de Champagne and his studio—with the suit of armour, *l'écharpe*, boots and pose of Archduke Leopold William, uncle and counsellor of Emperor Leopold I, as painted by David Teniers Jr. during the 1650s.⁴³ The position of his feet and boots is characteristic for the Thirty Years' War and is identical to that on the portrait of Leopold Wilhelm.

The appearance of the former French monarchs Henry IV and his son Louis XIII may seem a surprise, since the then French king Louis XIV was already in full power around 1670. Yet, the commissioners' choice of former kings was probably based upon the fact that Louis XIV was one of the opponents of emperor Leopold I, making his presence unwelcome in a great hall belonging to the Leslies, known for their loyalty to the emperor. However, we have to consider also that Henry IV was a father and Louis XIII a brother of Henrietta Maria and in this way, they were related to the house of Stuart. We may also take into account that some relatives of the Leslies fought in the French army during the reign of Henry IV and Louis XIII.

The fourteen portraits of European sovereigns and their wives that are now kept in Frýdlant castle were most probably painted between 1669 and 1673 for the great hall at Ptuj. The supposed commissioner is James, count of Leslie, who inherited the Central European properties from his uncle Walter in 1667 and resumed the renovations of Ptuj castle started by his uncle. We may assume that the creator of the iconographic program was the commissioner himself or else Alexander or William Aloysius Leslie. The basic motive for the creation of the program was representation, the original models utilized for the portraits formerly kept in Ptuj being intended to present the sitter in a grand

(probably identical with the portrait of Henry IV now kept in the Czartoryski museum in Cracow).

⁴³ The mentioned portraits by Champagne are kept in Eu, Fontainebleau, Versailles, besides other locations, while the portrait by David Teniers Jr. is kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

manner. By placing their copies in an aristocratic residence, a part of their original meaning was transferred to the owner of the copies. As one of the functions of a sovereign's portrait was also to act as a substitute for the absent sovereign—especially obvious on occasions of public reverences which could, in case of the sovereign's absence, have been made to his portrait⁴⁴—the owner of the portraits could present himself to his guests in the company of important European sovereigns of the seventeenth century.

With regard to the motive for the creation of the series of sovereigns, we must consider that two similar series were painted for the castles Rychnov nad Knežnov and Opočno in Bohemia at approximately the same time. These castles are very near the Leslies' Nové Mesto nad Metují, being only twenty-five and fourteen kilometres away respectively. The early Baroque palace at Rychnov nad Knežnov was built under the orders of Francis Charles, count of Kolowrat Liebstensky, between 1676 and 1690;⁴⁵ he and his two brothers acquired the title of Austrian and Bohemian count in 1658 and 1660 respectively for their merits, and also entered the Imperial diplomatic service. Opočno had been confiscated from the Trčka family in 1634 by the emperor Ferdinand III and handed over to the counts Hieronymus and Rudolf of Colloredo, who had taken part, like Walter Leslie, in the conspiracy against Wallenstein. The patrons who commissioned these three series of portraits shared similar family histories, having made a profit from the confiscations of the estates of Protestant aristocrats in Bohemia; they enjoyed the benevolence of the Emperor and should have been grateful to the Habsburgs for their privileges. Hence, the portrait series of the counts of Leslie and that of the counts of Kolowrat indicate similarities in the choice of models for the paintings.

The decision concerning the commission of the portraits of the European sovereigns instead of traditional family portraits (typically a gallery of ancestors) may be directly related to the family history of the counts of Leslie in the seventeenth century. Numerous members of the family had left Scotland at that time and fought in the service of various European sovereigns, for example in France, Spain, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Poland and Russia. Through the portraits of the

⁴⁴ See Hubert Winkler, *Bildnis und Gebrauch. Zum Umgang mit dem fürstlichen Bildnis in der frühen Neuzeit. Vermählungen—Gesandtschaftswesen—Spanischer Erbfolgekrieg* (Vienna: 1993).

⁴⁵ Jakub Pavel, *Kolowratský zámek Rychnov nad Kněžnou* (Prague, s.a.), 1.

sovereigns that represented those of their monarchies or the empire, the supposed patron James, count of Leslie—whose military career was based upon his battles with the Turks—might have wanted to present the Leslie family as “defenders of Christianity” whether in the service of the Imperial, Spanish, Polish or French armies. Certainly, his military success in the years after the battle of Saint Gotthard (1664), that is, in the period that led to the Siege of Vienna (1683) and the following Turkish wars, was an appropriate inducement for the emphasis of military features and what is more, for such a glorification of his family.

The depicted sovereigns were not contemporaries; since the series could not have been painted before 1670, when Michael Korybut was crowned, evidently some of the depicted persons had already passed away when the series was commissioned. The choice of sitters thus probably depended on the Leslies’ having served in their armies. However, we cannot fail to notice that nine of the portraits depict representatives of the House of Habsburg and the closely related Wittelsbachs and Wiśniowieckis and five of them the House of Stuart and the related Bourbon kings. In other words, they depict the old and the new masters of the Leslies. The duality is stressed by depicting only one representative of each house, Leopold I and Charles I, in stately attire. In my opinion, the choice of the portrait type for individual sovereigns did not depend on the available models. Since portraits of sovereigns were painted in relatively regular intervals during their lifetime and were occasionally sent to allied and friendly courts (the exchange of portraits was especially intense between the two branches of the Habsburgs and in times of prenuptial negotiations), we may assume that the commissioner and painter had a wide choice of models and that the former deliberately chose this type of portrait for the presentation of the sovereigns in the Ptuj great hall. It should not be overlooked that the emperor Leopold I is depicted as the commander-in-chief, but in a festal mantel, and that the king Charles I Stuart appears in his official array. The emperor Ferdinand III, the Stuart king, Charles II, the Bourbons, Henry IV and Louis XIII, and Prince-Elector Ferdinand Maria, are depicted as commanders-in-chief, while kings Philip IV and Michael Korybut wear costumes that do not differ from the costumes in numerous contemporaneous portraits of aristocracy.

In placing stress on one representative of both royal houses, James Leslie probably wanted to express the Leslies’ dual position in relation to their land of origin and the country where they had managed

to rise into the highest nobility. As David Worthington has pointed out, James and his successor James Ernst subscribed to the so-called Imperial "*Realpolitik*" and seem to have had Francophobe tendencies, thus they showed little sign of support for the Stuarts during the 'Glorious Revolution' and thereafter.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, in the early 1670's when the portraits were painted, James Leslie probably still modelled himself on Walter Leslie, who was described by the earl of Winchelsea as "a man who is of good affection to our master",⁴⁷ that is to say, to Charles II.

Conclusion

The rise of the counts of Leslie into the *Hofadel* is reflected in the renovation of their castles, palaces, and other prestigious establishments besides the commissioning of the various works of art. These distinguish themselves due to the variety of iconographical features and motives covering historical, mythological, literary and ethnographical subjects. Through the commissioned works of art, the Leslie counts also wished to express themes relating to their own history. The ambitious attitude of Walter Leslie is demonstrated in those wall paintings depicting the story of the Golden Fleece, the Leslie coat-of-arms in mythological scenes and finally the apotheosis of the family in the form of their coat-of-arms—alongside that of the Dietrichsteins—being carried to the sky by angels. James Leslie copied some of these motives, but extended them by adding allusions to the Leslies' military successes and enriched the program with contents pertaining both to their place of origin and to the country where they managed to rise in social rank.

⁴⁶ In a letter from 16 May 2006.

⁴⁷ Worthington, 'A Stuart-Austrian Habsburg', 29.



1. Portrait of Emperor Leopold I, 1670–1673, Frýdlant (Czech Republic)
Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the custodian of
Frýdlant Castle, Czech Republic



2. Portrait of Empress Maria Anna, 1670–1673, Frýdlant (Czech Republic)
Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the custodian of
Frýdlant Castle, Czech Republic



3. Portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria, 1670–1673, Frýdlant (Czech Republic)
Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the custodian of
Frýdlant Castle, Czech Republic

ENGLISH MILITARY ÉMIGRÉS AND THE PROTESTANT CAUSE IN EUROPE, 1603–C. 1640

David J.B. Trim

The considerable numbers of soldiers from the British Isles who served in Continental European armies in the early to mid-seventeenth century have in recent years finally started to attract sustained historical scholarship. Irish and Scottish soldiers in foreign service always attracted the attention of historians; their significance in Irish national mythology and their palpable demographic and economic significance in Scottish history were reflected in the respective national historiographies. However, many studies of Scottish and Irish soldiers of fortune were overly antiquarian, genealogical, or apologetic (whether on nationalist or religious grounds); furthermore, regardless of the author's approach or purpose, most studies until very recently (and even some very recent studies!) were based overwhelmingly on published sources—on memoirs, chronicles and contemporary histories, literary sources, and on an often limited range of printed calendars or editions of official records.¹ While sometimes affording valuable

¹ E.g., James Grant, *The Scottish Soldiers of Fortune, Their Adventures and Achievements in the Armies of Europe* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1889); Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565–1603)* [...] (Dublin & London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1937); Brendan Jennings, 'Irish Swordsmen in Flanders, 1586–1610. i, 'Stanley's Regiment, 1586–1587', *Studies* 36 (1947): 402–10, and 'ii. Independent Irish Companies and Regiment of Henry O'Neill', *Studies* 37 (1948): 189–202; Andrew McKerral, 'West Highland Mercenaries in Ireland', *Scottish Historical Review* 30 (1951): 1–14; Gunther White, 'Henry VIII's Irish Kerne in France and Scotland', *Irish Sword* 3 (1957–58): 217–25; Micheline Kerney Walsh, 'Some Notes Towards a History of Womenfolk of the Wild Geese', *Irish Sword* 5 (1961–62): 98–106, 133–45; P. Gouhier, 'Mercenaires irlandais au service de la France (1635–64)', *Irish Sword* 7 (1965–66): 58–75; Robert Daley Fitzsimon, 'Irish Swordsmen in the Imperial Service of the 30 Years War', *Irish Sword* 9 (1969–70): 22–31, idem, 'Irish Soldiers in Flanders in the Sixteenth Century', *ibid.*, 69–70; Jerrold Cassaway, 'Henry O'Neill and the Formation of an Irish Regiment in the Netherlands, 1605', *Irish Historical Studies* 18 (1972): 481–88; Maurice Hennessy, *The Wild Geese: The Irish Soldier in Exile* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1973); I. Ross Bartlett, 'Scottish Mercenaries in Europe, 1570–1640: A Study in Attitudes and Policies', *The Scottish Tradition* 13 (1986): 15–24; Micheline Kerney Walsh, 'The Wild Goose Tradition', *Irish Sword* 17 (1987–88): 4–15; Robert Matthew Shurmer, 'Scottish Mercenary Forces in the Revolt of the Netherlands and Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1566–1609', unpub.

insights, this scholarship could only provide a partial picture; indeed, some of those who contributed to it were aware of its limitations and did pioneering work to open up continental archives to future researchers.² Since the early 1990s, new methodologies have been applied, new evidence uncovered and utilised, and numerous new studies of soldiers from the British Isles serving in foreign armies published. Studies of these soldiers have increasingly been based on research in both central and local archives of countries from across Europe (if perhaps particularly from Scandinavia); much of the recent scholarship is informed by the scholarship of the so-called 'new military history' and reflects its interest in 'war and society', or is the product of the 'linguistic turn' in late-twentieth-century historiography; certainly there is much more concern than in the earlier scholarship for the wider socio-cultural context from which soldiers came, and in which they operated temporarily or settled long term. The new scholarship has at the least provided a more thoroughly contextualised and nuanced knowledge, and some significant new perspectives; arguably it has come close to transforming our understanding of the experience of soldiers both from Ireland³

MLitt. thesis (Aberdeen, 1989); James Michael Hill, 'The Distinctiveness of Gaelic Warfare 1400–1750', *European History Quarterly* 22 (1995): 323–45; James Miller, *Swords for Hire: The Scottish Mercenary* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007). I have not yet been able to consult J.A. Fallon, 'Scottish Mercenaries in the Service of Denmark and Sweden, 1626–32', unpub. Ph.D. thesis (Glasgow, 1972), which is praised by Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: The Lees Knowles Lectures 1984. Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 175, but see the criticism of Alexia Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?', in *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648*, ed. Steve Murdoch, *History of Warfare*, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 151n.

² E.g., Brendan Jennings, ed., *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders 1582–1700: Documents Relating Chiefly to Irish Regiments from the Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, and Other Sources* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1964); Micheline K. Walsh, ed., *Spanish Knights of Irish Origin: Documents from Continental Archives*, 3 vols. (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1960–70); cf. Johannes MacLean, *De Huwelijckstekeningen van Schotse Militairen in Nederland 1574–1665*, Werken uitgaven door het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht- en Wapenkunde, 4 (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1976). See also the important nineteenth-century record publication, James Ferguson, ed., *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572–1782*, vol. I, 1572–1697, Scottish History Society Publications, 32 (Edinburgh: 1889).

³ Gráinne Henry, 'The emerging identity of an Irish military group in the Spanish Netherlands: 1556–1610', in *Religion, Conflict and Coexistence in Ireland: Essays presented to Monsignor Patrick J. Corish*, ed. R.V. Comerford, M. Cullen, J.R. Hill, C. Lennon (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1990), 53–77, 302–9; idem, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders, 1586–1621* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992);

and from Scotland⁴ as mercenaries in Europe during the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

And yet, despite this efflorescence in scholarship on Scottish and Irish soldiers serving in foreign armies—despite too what can reasonably be called a ‘new wave’ of scholarship on early-modern English

Robert A. Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries: The Wild Geese in Spain 1618–68* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994); idem, ‘Military Recruitment and Movement as a Form of Migration: Spain and its Irish Mercenaries, 1598–1665’, in *Le migrazione in Europa secoli XIII–XVIII*, ed. S. Cavaciocchi (Prato: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica F. Datini, 1994), 477–90; John McGurk, ‘Wild Geese: The Irish in European Armies (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)’, in *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity*, ed. Patrick O’Sullivan, vol. I, *Patterns of Migration* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), 36–60; Gervase Phillips, ‘Irish *Ceatharnaigh* in English Service, 1544–1550, and the Development of “Gaelic Warfare”’, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 78 (2000): 163–72; Guy Rowlands, ‘An Army in Exile: Louis XIV and the Irish Forces of James II in France, 1691–1698’, *Royal Stuart Society Papers*, no. 60 (2001); Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, ‘Irish soldiers in Swedish service 1609–1613’, *Irish Sword* 24 (2004–5): 161–64; idem, ‘Irish Participation in Scandinavian Armies during the Thirty Years’ War’, *ibid.*, 277–87; Ciarán Óg O’Reilly, ‘The Irish Mercenary Tradition in the 1600s’, in *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. John France (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming, 2008), 383f. And see the pioneering archive-based study of Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963), 103–4, 134–55. I am aware of but have not yet been able to consult Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales eds., *Extranjeros en el Ejército: Militares irlandeses en la sociedad española, 1580–1818* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2007).

⁴ Elizabeth Ann Bonner, ‘Continuing the “auld alliance” in the Sixteenth Century: Scots in France and French in Scotland’, in *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247–1967*, ed. Grant G. Simpson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), 31–46; Paul Dukes, ‘The First Scottish Soldiers in Russia’, *ibid.*, 47–54; idem, ‘New Perspectives: Alexander Leslie and the Smolensk War, 1632–4’, in *Scotland and the Thirty Years’ War*, ed. Murdoch, 73–89; Alf Åberg, ‘Scottish soldiers in the Swedish armies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’, in *Scotland and Scandinavia, 800–1800*, ed. Grant G. Simpson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 90–99; Graeme P. Herd, ‘General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries—A Scot in Seventeenth-Century Russian Service’, unpub. Ph.D. thesis (Aberdeen, 1993), ch. 5; idem, “‘Bravehearts Abroad’: Scottish Mercenaries in Muscovite Service 1570–1640”, *War Studies Journal* 2:1 (Autumn 1996): 119–29; idem, ‘The Mercenary as Diplomat: The Fall of the House of Stuart and the Rise of the Petrine Order’, in *Russia and the Wider World in Historical Perspective: Essays for Paul Dukes*, ed. Cathryn Brennan and Murray Frame (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 24–44; Hugh Dunthorne ‘Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572–1648’, in *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124–1994*, ed. Grant G. Simpson (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 104–21; Steve Murdoch, ‘The House of Stuart and the Scottish Professional Soldier 1618–1640: A Conflict of Nationality and Identities’, in *War: Identities in Conflict 1300–2000*, ed. Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), 37–56; idem, ‘More than just Mackay and Mercenaries: Gaelic Influences in Scandinavia,

military history⁵—English and Welsh mercenaries have attracted (and, apart from the present author, continue to attract) little scholarly attention.⁶ From a continental perspective, though Scotland is known for

1580–1707’, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 60 (2000), 161–86; J.V. Polisenský, ‘A note on Scottish soldiers in the Bohemian War, 1619–1622’, in *Scotland and the Thirty Years’ War*, ed. Murdoch, 109–16; Robert I. Frost, ‘Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years’ War’, *ibid.*, 191–213; William S. Brockington, ‘Robert Monro: Professional Soldier, Military Historian and Scotsman’, *ibid.*, 215–41; Dauvit Horsbroch, ‘Wish you were here? Scottish Reaction to “Postcards” Home from the “Germane Warres”’, *ibid.*, 245–69; Hartmut Ruffer and Kathrin Zickermann, ‘German Reactions to the Scots in the Holy Roman Empire during the Thirty Years’ War’, *ibid.*, 271–93; Matthew Glozier, ‘Scots in the French and Dutch Armies during the Thirty Years’ War’, *ibid.*, 117–41; idem, ‘Huguenots and Scots: Some 17th-Century Theological, Social and Military Connections’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 27:5 (2002): 692–704; idem, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King: Nursery for Men of Honour*, History of Warfare, 24 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); idem, ‘The “Other” Wild Geese: Expatriate Scottish Soldiers and the Jacobite Cause in 1691’, in *Exile and Homecoming: Papers from the Fifth Australian Conference of Celtic Studies, University of Sydney, July 2004*, ed. Pamela O’Neill, (Sydney, NSW: Celtic Studies Foundation, 2005), 78–91; Andrew D. Nicholls, ‘For Something More Than King and Country: The Persistence of the Mercenary Tradition in Seventeenth Century Scottish Military History’, *Scottish Tradition*, 26 (2001), 19–29; Mary Elizabeth Ailes, *Military Migration and State Formation: The British Military Community in Seventeenth-Century Sweden* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002) (despite its title it is mostly on Scottish soldiers); Joachim Migglebring, ‘The End of the Scots-Dutch Brigade’, in *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550–1900*, ed. Steve Murdoch and Andrew MacKillop, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 83–104; Alexia Grosjean, ‘Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden 1655–1658’, *ibid.*, 61–82; idem, ‘Scotland: Sweden’s Closest Ally?’, 143–71; idem, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); idem, ‘A Century of Scottish Governorship in the Swedish Empire, 1574–1700’, in *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800: A Study of Scotland and Empire*, ed. Andrew MacKillop and Steve Murdoch, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 53–78; David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Concepción Sáenz-Cambra, ‘Colonel William Sempill of Lochwinnoch (1546–1630): A Strategist for Spain’, *Tiempos modernos* 13:1 (2006): 1–20; Muriósa Prendergast, ‘Scots Mercenary Forces in Sixteenth-Century Ireland’, in *Mercenaries and Paid Men*, ed. France, 363–82. See also David Worthington, ‘Alternative Diplomacy? Scottish Exiles at the Courts of the Habsburgs and their Allies, 1618–1648’, in Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years’ War*, 51–75 at 54–56, 58–59, 63–67; Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics, and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland*, (Tempe, Ariz.: 2005), ch. 4; Steve Murdoch, ‘Scotland, Europe and the English “Missing Link”’, *History Compass* 5/3 (2007): 890–913 at 892–94.

⁵ D.J.B. Trim, ‘Calvinist internationalism and the English officer corps, 1562–1642’, *History Compass*, 4:6 (2006), 1036, 1040–41 n.67, 1042 n.96. To the works surveyed there should be added Steven Gunn, David Grummitt, and Hans Cools, *War, State and Society in England and the Netherlands 1477–1559* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) and James Raymond, *Henry VIII’s Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-Century Britain and Europe* (London & New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), both admittedly on an earlier period than that covered here.

⁶ See Trim, ‘Calvinist internationalism and the English officer corps’; D.J.B. Trim, ‘Sir Horace Vere in Holland and the Rhineland, 1610–1612’, *Historical Research*, 72

producing 'military enterprisers' (or *entrepreneurs de guerre*), England is not.⁷ 'British' is sometimes used in the title of scholarly studies to denominate groups of soldiers that include no Englishmen.⁸ It should be noted that in this essay I generally use 'English' as a collective noun to describe soldiers from England and Wales, even though a not insignificant proportion of so-called English troops frequently were Welsh. Lumping them in with the English is partly a matter of convenience, but it reflects the constitutional circumstances of Wales and it accords with conventional contemporary usage. In both the Spanish and Dutch armies in the Low Countries and in Scandinavia, commanders and officials regularly distinguished between English, Scottish and Irish soldiers.⁹ In contrast, in the Low Countries, Welsh soldiers were virtually never denominated as such: they are always classed as English; the 'Waelsche' soldiers or units listed in some Dutch muster rolls or company lists are Walloons. It would be interesting to know if Scandinavians and Central Europeans were more ethnically aware,

(1999), 334–51; idem, 'The "foundation-stone of the British army"? The Normandy campaign of 1562', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 77 (1999): 71–87; idem, 'Ideology, greed and social discontent in early-modern Europe: Mercenaries and mutinies in the rebellious Netherlands 1568–1609', in *Rebellion, repression, reinvention: Mutiny in comparative contexts*, ed. Jane Hathaway (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2001), 47–61; idem, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars". The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562–1610', unpub. Ph.D. thesis (London, 2002) [hereafter Trim, 'Mercenaries']. See also Clements R. Markham, *The 'Fighting Veres': Lives of Sir Francis Vere... and Sir Horace Vere...* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888); H.R. Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs, East Kent Regiment, 3rd Foot [...]*, vol. I, 1572–1704 (London: Gale & Polden, 1905), 1–90; Amos C. Miller, 'Sir Roger Williams—A Welsh Professional Soldier', *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion* (for 1972): 86–118; Albert J.K. Loomie, 'Gondomar's Selection of English Officers in 1622', *English Historical Review* 88 (1973): 574–81; Roger B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585–1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), chaps. 2–4, 7, 13. Cf. D.G. Lewis, 'Sir Thomas Morgan, Bt., 1604–79, Soldier of Fortune', unpub. MA thesis (Wales, 1930)—but Morgan's reputation derives from service in the Civil War, not as a mercenary (I owe this reference to Hugh Dunthorne).

⁷ Cf. Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and His Workforce: A Study in European Economic and Social History*, vol. I, *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Beihefte, 47 (Wiesbaden: 1964), xiv.

⁸ E.g. Ailes, *British Military Community*.

⁹ E.g., Het Nationaal Archief (Netherlands), The Hague [hereafter HNAN], Regeringsarchieven, I.197, muster roll of John Norreys's English cavalry company, 8 May 1587–15 of the 125 men in the English cavalry coy. are identified as 'Ecosse'; and Dunthorne 111, 121. Spanish Army of Flanders: e.g., René Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog: Filips IV en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1629–1648* (Maastricht: Shaker, 2001), 154n.; Swedish army: e.g., Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?', 146, 152n., 154–55.

though probably the greater the distance from the British Isles, the less the sensitivity to the complex ethnic composition of those islands.¹⁰

Regardless of ethnic or national origins, however, there is a pervasive consensus, among practitioners of different types of history and of political science, and historians of a range of different countries, that early-modern mercenaries were usually motivated simply by socioeconomic circumstances and rarely, if ever, by religious commitment—and in consequence, typically, were extremely unreliable.¹¹ This essay takes the exact opposite approach. Its argument is that English soldiers in the service of the Dutch, the Huguenots, and German Protestant princes in the period c. 1600–1640 were personally committed to Protestantism to a greater extent than is usually recognised and that we therefore need to give greater primacy to confessional considerations in assessing motivation. Of course, a wide range of factors influenced the decision to serve in foreign armies, including family custom, patronage connections, and desire for excitement, honour and financial gain, but these factors have been over-stressed by early-modern historians; religion, was an extremely important ingredient in the motivational matrix. Many officers had a strong Protestant faith—furthermore, they tended to Calvinism, with its particularly militant ideology. This is evident from their family backgrounds, their actions, and their own and others' declarations about them, including characterisations of the conflicts in which they served as holy wars. Although the confessional loyalty of most of the rank and file remains unknown at present, they tended to be recruited through kinship and patronage networks, and thus to some extent reflected the imperatives of their leaders—an argument I have made elsewhere.¹² Given constraints of space, therefore, this chapter concentrates on the officer corps, and

¹⁰ Cf. Worthington, 'Scottish Exiles', 63.

¹¹ Just a few examples: Sir Charles Oman, *History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century*, 38, 196, 374; Redlich, 118, 166–68, 463n., 476; Joyce Youings, 'The South-Western Rebellion of 1549', *Southern History* 1 (1979): 118; John A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 17941–94* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 24; J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450–1620* (London: Fontana, 1985; repr., Stroud: Sutton, 1998), 71, 171–72; Henry, *Irish Military Community*, 44–51; Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries*, 124; Aline Goosens, 'Wars of Religion: The Examples of France, Spain and the Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century' in *War, Peace and World Orders in European History* ed. Anja V. Hartmann and Beatrice Heuser (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), 167, 170.

¹² Trim, 'Mercenaries', chs. 8, 9; idem, 'Ideology, Greed and Social Discontent'.

takes a prosopographical approach.¹³ In the space available only an impressionistic survey is possible but the impression created is clear and points to the importance of confessional commitment.

Several officers revealed Reformed (even radical) Protestantism in their patronage. In the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century, the Governor of Flushing, Sir Robert Sidney (in 1605 created Viscount Lisle) and his deputy-governor, Sir William Browne, were both strong supporters of 'Mr Potts', the Puritan chaplain of Sidney's own foot company, who instituted presbyterian reforms in the Flushing garrison church. Sir John Ogle, who served in the Dutch army from 1591 to 1619, was trusted by the States General to subdue Arminian dissent in Utrecht in 1610, and chose for his regimental chaplain first a Scottish Presbyterian minister, John Douglas and then an anti-Catholic polemicist, William Crosse. In the 1610s and 1620s, first Sir Horace Vere, then his one-time page, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Edward Harwood, protected and furthered the careers of two Puritan ministers obliged by their radical Calvinism to flee Jacobean England, William Ames and John Burgess.¹⁴ Sir Edward Cecil, created Lord Wimbledon in 1625, who rose to the rank of general in Dutch service but had an intense personal dislike of Vere and Harwood, was nevertheless, like them, the patron of at least one Puritan minister, who dedicated a collection of hymns to him. Basil Feilding, heir to the Earl of Denbigh, who served as a gentleman volunteer with Lord Wimbledon in the Netherlands in 1629, had 'a radical puritan' chaplain and later was to be a protector of presbyterian ministers.¹⁵

¹³ Including material from a recent article (Trim, 'Calvinist internationalism and the English officer corps') but also much previously unpublished material.

¹⁴ HMC, *De L'Isle and Dudley MSS*, V, *Sidney Papers, 1611–1626*, ed. William A. Shaw and G. Dyfnallt Owen (London: 1962), 31–34, 'Pay roll of the Governor's Company in Flushing Garrison', 14 March 1612; Millicent V. Hay, *The Life of Robert Sidney: Earl of Leicester (1563–1626)* (London & Toronto: Associated University Presses/Folger Books, 1984), 136–37; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 306, 388; Nicholas Tyacke, 'The Fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603–1640', *Friends of Dr Williams's Library Lectures*, no. 44 (1990), 13.

¹⁵ Charles Dalton, *The Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, Colonel of an English Regiment in the Dutch Service, 1605–31* [...], 2 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1885), I, 362; Ann Hughes, 'Feilding, Basil, 2nd earl of Denbigh (c. 1608–1675)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *Oxford DNB*] (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9249>].

Attachment to 'godly' religion is also evident from other actions. Every Sunday evening, Sir Horace Vere and, if with him, his wife and daughters 'rehearsed the sermon they had heard at church and called in the servants to give an account of what they had remembered of it. The family then prayed together in one room, and the servants in another.' During the rest of the week, Vere and his family prayed together twice daily.¹⁶ Edward Harwood, Vere's protégé, left £100 in his will to be distributed for 'pious uses' chosen by godly ministers, and money and a jewel to Elizabeth of Bohemia.¹⁷ Ralph Hopton, behind whom Elizabeth rode to safety after the disastrous defeat at White Mountain in 1620, was elected to parliament in 1621 and proved himself a vigorous proponent of the Protestant cause in debates and committees.¹⁸

The religious affiliations of English soldiers are also clear from what was said and written by and about them. Vere's cousin, Sir John Holles, who served in the Netherlands in 1601, and sent his son to serve under Vere in the Palatinate in 1620,¹⁹ declared in the 1610s that a gentleman should pray twice a day and 'spend also two howers at the least every day in that holy book... which [was an] antidote... against the poison of superstition'.²⁰ He disdained soldiers whose interest was in 'taverns, bordells, plays' rather than 'temperance, or religion', and was explicit that Europe's conflicts were religious wars, caused by Roman Catholics' desire that Protestants be 'reduced to the auntient Idoll'.²¹ His two brothers, Sir George and Thomas, both rose to colonelcies in the Dutch army, in which they served from the 1590s until their deaths: Sir George's in bed, in England in 1626 and Thomas's in the field, while besieging a town in Brabant, in 1642. Sir George was pictured by another Calvinist soldier, Henry Hexham, using the imagery of both the Old Testament and the Apocalypse, as like 'Josua in the

¹⁶ Anne Laurence, 'Women Using Building in Seventeenth-Century England: A Question of Sources?', *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 13 (2003): 299.

¹⁷ The National Archives, Kew [TNA], PROB, 11/162, f. 225r.

¹⁸ Ronald Hutton, 'Hopton, Ralph, Baron Hopton (bap. 1596, d. 1652)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13772>].

¹⁹ Trim, 'Mercenaries', 506; Holles to Privy Council, 15 Dec. 1620, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1619–23, 200.

²⁰ To Jack Holles, 22 July 1614 and 23 Feb. 1616, in *Letters of John Holles*, ed. P.R. Seddon, 3 vols. Thoroton Society Record Series, 31 (Nottingham: 1975), 56, 115, nos. 136, 202.

²¹ To Lord Norris, 10 June 1617, and to George Holles, 10 May 1615, *ibid.*, 164, 67, nos. 257, 156.

head of the troupes [fighting] against this whore and hir adhaerants'. Thomas Holles was known to his fellow-officers as 'a religious soldier [who] would not swear an oath', and was an embarrassment to the next generation of his royalist relatives because of his reputation for 'being bred up (after he had begun to relish religion) in a Calvinisticall discipline and indeed no freind to the liturgy of the Church of England'.²² Henry Hexham, who served in the Dutch army at least until 1636, was additionally an author and translator; in 1610 he translated a Huguenot theologian's refutation of a Catholic tract and later expressed enthusiasm for combat against the adherents of the papacy (the 'whore' of Babylon), as already quoted.²³

In 1612, Sampson Lennard, a veteran of 'the English army in the Netherlands in the 1580s', translated the Huguenot Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay's history of the Papacy into English, dedicating it to Henry, Prince of Wales, who had deliberately fashioned himself as the champion of 'the reformed faith in Europe' and had 'gathered around him men who shared his values'. The dedication avowed Lennard's hope 'That I may live to march over the Alpes, and to traylor a pike before the walls of Rome'.²⁴ The same year, Sir John Throckmorton, long-serving commander of the British garrison of Flushing, grimly observed to the city's (by now absentee) governor, Lord Lisle, that it was 'not to be doubted but that the Pope and the rest of the Catholike Romesh Princes' were about to join Spain and France in a league, the purpose of which was 'to root out the true profession of God's Gospel'.²⁵ Sir Henry Peyton, a captain in Dutch service from 1605–1610, affirmed in the preamble to his will that he had 'passe[d] the seas for the better discharge of my conscience and dutie to god'.²⁶ Edward Vere, an

²² Gervase Holles, *Memorials of the Holles Family*, d. A.C. Wood, Camden Society, 3rd ser., LV (1937), 73–86 at 74, 83, 86.

²³ Johannes Polyander, *The refutation of an epistle, written by a certain doctor of the Augustins order: together with the arguments, which he hath borrowed from Robert Bellarmine* (London, 1610).

²⁴ Jan Broadway, 'Lennard, Sampson (d. 1633)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16446>]; *The Myserie of Iniquitie: that is to say, the history of the Papacie* (London, 1612), sig. 3v. Kevin Sharpe, 'Culture, Politics, and the English Civil War', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 57 (1988): 104; and see Timothy Wilks, ed., *Prince Henry revived: Image and exemplarity in early-seventeenth-century England* (London: Paul Holberton, 2007).

²⁵ HMC, *De L'Isle and Dudley MSS*, V, 39, Throckmorton to Lisle, 24 Mar. 1612.

²⁶ TNA, PROB 11/143, f. 142r.

illegitimate nephew of Sir Horace, who served in the Dutch army from 1601 until killed in action in 1629, was strongly Calvinist and interested in theology; in 1618, for example, he observed (of the defeat of Arminianism) that 'God hath given a great deliverance to his church, the truth whereof these men, even with the subtleties of the devils, have sought to undermine and overthrow.'²⁷ His uncle, whose godly actions have been noted earlier, took his theological interest into the field, at one point in an action in the Palatinate telling his subordinates: 'Bee wee assured, all the temptations of that roaring Lyon the devil, are but like the Frenchmens assaults in warre.... At first...hee chargeth home bravely: but resist him then: and at the second encounter he is more effeminate than a woman.'²⁸ Although Sir John Ogle, patron (as we have seen) of Calvinist army chaplains, gradually became more sympathetic to Arminianism, leading to his dismissal in 1619, he still used the language of predestination in his will of 1628, referring to 'the elect of God in heaven'.²⁹ During the crisis over Arminianism that precipitated Ogle's dismissal, Sir Philip Pakenham, who had served in the Dutch army from before 1600 until the end of the 1630s, had a reputation as a vigorous supporter of Calvinist orthodoxy.³⁰ Even before Ralph Hopton rescued Elizabeth of Bohemia, her devoted puritan secretary, Sir Francis Nethersole, had noted that Hopton was 'as religious...a young gentleman as most of our nation'.³¹

Sir John Burgh, who was killed in action in 1627 near La Rochelle, after serving in the Dutch army from 1605–1619, in the Palatinate in 1620–22, and in the English expedition to Cadiz in 1625,³² was similarly known for pious Calvinist qualities, in his case preferring sober dress and hating blasphemy and drunkenness. Lamenting his death,

²⁷ *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton knt., during his embassy in Holland, from January 1615/6 to December 1620*, [ed. P. Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke], 2nd edn (London: 1775), 284; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 397–98.

²⁸ Francis Rogers, *A sermon preached on September the 20 1632. At the Funerall of William Proud* (London, 1633), sig. C2r.

²⁹ TNA, PROB 11/183, ff. 407v–8v.

³⁰ William Nijenhuis ed., *Matthew Slade 1569–1628: Letters to the English Ambassador* (Leiden: Brill/Leiden University Press, 1986), 91, Slade to Carleton, 17 Oct. 1618; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 389.

³¹ TNA, SP 84/99, f. 2r, Nethersole to Carleton, 1 Jan. 1621.

³² Robert Markham, *The description of that ever to be famed knight, Sir John Burgh* (n.p., 1628), 7, 11, *et passim*; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 412; TNA, E 101/612/73, pay list of English troops in the Palatinate; Henry E. Huntington Library [hereafter HL], Hastings MSS, Military Box, 2, file 40, Cadiz expedition captains, 1625.

one of his subordinates reflected 'to thy Valour holinesse was wed' and that

Thy tongue was taught to pray, thy hands to fight
But both together for the Gospels right.

Another recalled that Burgh, aware he was dying, declared he did not fear death for he had commended himself to God in prayer every morning 'these thirty years together'.³³

Sir Edward Harwood, a soldier in the Dutch army from 1599 until mortally wounded at the siege of Maastricht in June 1632, not only protected presbyterian pastors and left money for godly causes, as noted above; he also was praised by the celebrated Puritan minister, Hugh Peter, for his godly behaviour and anti-Arminianism.³⁴ William Proud, who served in English armies in the continent from 1589–96 and then in the Dutch army from 1600 until he, too, was killed at Maastricht in 1632, was noted by his contemporaries for always attending Church on Sunday, for 'twice every day in his private chamber...pray[ing] heartily, and fervently to God on his knees,' and for being a regular student of his Bible and theological works. His funerary monument depicts him kneeling in armour and praises him because he was

... ..continually
Feareless of death, yet still prepar'd to dye
In his religious thoughts: For midst all harness
He bore as much of Pietie as Armes.

And admirers believed that 'he dyed in the quarrel of Gods true Religion'.³⁵

In considering the religious beliefs of the captains, family and patronage contexts are very important; and it is essential to remember that the soldiers of the period 1600–1640 were developing an existing tradition of service to the Huguenots, the Dutch, and some German Calvinist electors, that dated back to c. 1560.³⁶

³³ Markham, *Description*, 6, 14, 13; Rogers, sig. C3r.

³⁴ H. Peter, 'The life and death of Collonell Harwood', in *The advice of that worthy commander Sir Ed. Harwood, Collonell* (London, 1642) sigs B2v–B3r; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 384.

³⁵ Rogers, sigs. Dr–D2v at D2v; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 397; I am indebted to Jacqueline Eales for photographs of Proud's funerary monument in Canterbury Cathedral.

³⁶ See Trim, 'Mercenaries'.

The kinship and clientage network around the Vere family produced many officers and gentlemen volunteers throughout the eighty years from c. 1560 to c. 1640 and was notable for its religious commitment, as evidence already cited suggests. Sir Horace's illegitimate nephew, John, brother of Sir Edward Vere, was an officer in the Dutch army from 1604–1616.³⁷ One of their cousins by marriage was Lord Willoughby d'Eresby (created Earl of Lindsey in the 1620s), who for several years in the middle of the decade was a colonel in the Dutch army, as his puritan father had been in 1586–87.³⁸ Another cousin, Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, served as a captain under Vere in the Palatinate in 1620 and was mortally wounded while serving in the Dutch army in 1625, having twice been jailed in England, in 1621 and then for 20 months in 1622–23, partly for his condemnation of the Spanish ambassador's influence at court. His second cousin, Robert de Vere, who succeeded as 19th earl, was himself later to be killed in action, shot like Harwood and Proud during the siege of Maastricht in 1632.³⁹ The religious views of Sir John Holles, another cousin of Sir Horace Vere, have already been quoted, but Sir John's Calvinist internationalism is also apparent from his associations, both patronal and familial. In 1610 he was appointed Controller of the Household of the militantly Protestant Henry, Prince of Wales—who the same year deliberately brought Vere into his military clientele. Two of Holles's brothers were long-serving veterans of the Dutch army, as noted earlier; both were protégés of Vere. His eldest son, also John, having served under Sir Horace Vere, in the Palatinate in 1620, as mentioned earlier, did so again in the Netherlands in 1629; he had married Vere's stepdaughter in 1626.⁴⁰ Vere was introduced to his wife, Mary (née

³⁷ Trim, 'Mercenaries', 477.

³⁸ Andrew Thrush, 'Bertie, Robert, first earl of Lindsey (1582–1642)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2277>, accessed 3 Nov 2006]; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 306, 367–68.

³⁹ Robert E. Ruigh, *The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign Policy*, Harvard Historical Studies, 87 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 36; Victor Stater, 'Vere, Henry de, eighteenth earl of Oxford (1593–1625)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28210>] and 'Vere, Aubrey de, twentieth earl of Oxford (1627–1703)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28206>].

⁴⁰ Holles, *Memorials*, 76–77, 79, 83; P.R. Seddon, 'Holles, John, second earl of Clare (1595–1666)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13555>]; Trim, 'Vere in Holland and the Rhineland', 343–46; idem, 'Calvinist Internationalism and the shaping of Jacobean Foreign Policy', in *Prince Henry revived*, ed. Wilks, 246–47; Timothy Wilks, 'The Pike Charged: Henry as Militant Prince', *ibid.*, 199–200.

Tracy), by Sir Edward Conway, his lieutenant governor at Brill from c. 1598–1616 and husband of Mary's sister, Dorothy. The Tracys had been staunch supporters of Protestantism from its very earliest days in England and Mary was a patroness of presbyterian clerics in her own right. Later, as Lord Conway and a Jacobean secretary of state, Vere's brother-in-law was a 'staunch supporter of a "protestant" foreign policy'; his father, Sir John, had served in the Dutch army from 1586–90; one brother, Fulke, probably, and another brother, Sir Thomas definitely, were captains in the Dutch army, during 1606–8, and 1624–26 respectively; Sir Thomas was then in the Swedish army from 1627 until his death in 1631. Two of Sir Edward's sons (Vere's nephews), another Edward and another Thomas, served in foreign Protestant armies: Edward in the Dutch army as a captain from 1613–24 and a lieutenant colonel during 1624–25; and Thomas, as a volunteer in the Dutch army at least from 1616, a captain in the Palatinate in 1620 and the Netherlands during 1624–25, and a captain and lieutenant colonel in the Danish army during 1627–29.⁴¹ One of Vere's most trusted senior subordinates (in the Dutch army from 1609–19 and 1623–25 and in the Palatinate in 1620–22) was Sir John Borlase, whose father Edmund was a long-time close business associate of the well-known Puritan mercer, John Isham, whose niece he married, thus entering a circle of 'godly' London merchants, notable for Puritan activism at home and for providing considerable aid to foreign Protestants abroad.⁴²

During the 1620s, Dudley North, later 4th Baron North, served as a lieutenant under Vere in the Palatinate for two or three years

⁴¹ Markham, *Fighting Veres*, 380; Jacqueline Eales, 'Vere, Mary, Lady Vere (1581–1671)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40534>]; Sean Kelsey, 'Conway, Edward, first Viscount Conway and first Viscount Killultagh (c. 1564–1631)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6120>]; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 193, 372, 418; Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean, *The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe Biographical Database, 1580–1707* [<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/>], id 6634, id 6635; draft biographies of Sir Edward Conway and Sir Thomas Conway, in *History of Parliament, Jacobean House of Commons*, ed. Andrew Thrush (forthcoming) (examined by courtesy of Andrew Thrush and the History of Parliament Trust); Elmer A. Beller, 'The military expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany, 1627–9', *English Historical Review* 53 (1928), 537.

⁴² See Trim, 'Mercenaries', 409; Terry Clavin, 'Borlase, Sir John (c. 1576–1648)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2909>]; G.D. Ramsay ed., *John Isham, Mercer and Merchant Adventurer: Two Account Books of a London Merchant in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, Northamptonshire Record Society Publications, 21 (1962), lxxx, lxxxiv xcvii, 61, 105; Trim, 'Calvinist internationalism and the English officer corps', 1033.

and as a captain in the Dutch army for three years, including latterly in a Scottish regiment.⁴³ He was from a strongly Protestant noble family: Roger, the 2nd Baron, one of the stoutest noble supporters of Puritanism in Elizabethan England, had served in the English army in the Netherlands in 1585–87, as had his two elder sons, John (the heir, who later predeceased his father) and Henry, besides his brother, Thomas, who also later served in France; John had already served in the Dutch army in 1578 and 1582–4, while another younger brother, George had served with the Huguenots in 1568.⁴⁴ John's son, Dudley, 3rd Baron North, had served as a gentleman volunteer in the Netherlands in 1601 and 1602 and later was one of the few peers of the Long Parliament who 'favoured moderate reform of the Church' along presbyterian lines.⁴⁵

At least six and probably eight (or more!) members of the extended Herbert family of south Wales served in foreign Protestant armies in the period covered by this essay. Charles Herbert of Montgomeryshire was a captain in the Dutch army during 1606–8; his father Matthew had already served in the Dutch army during Elizabeth's reign. Four of Charles's second cousins, the Herberts of Montgomery Castle, also served on the continent. The oldest brother, Edward (later created Lord

⁴³ See Dale J.B. Randall, *Gentle Flame: The Life and Verse of Dudley, Fourth Lord North (1602–1677)* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1983) 35–36, 41–44; Dudley, Lord North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669), sigs. A4r–V. Randall argues that North spent only two campaign seasons in the Palatinate, returning to England in 1621, but there are indications he stayed until late summer 1623: e.g., *The diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1622–1624: journal d'un étudiant Londonien sous le règne de Jacques I^{er}*, ed. Elisabeth Bourcier, Publications de la Sorbonne: Littératures, 5 (Paris: Didier, 1974), 98.

⁴⁴ S. L. Adams, 'The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance with the West European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585–1630', unpub. DPhil. thesis (Oxford, 1973), 28, 68–69; John Craig, 'North, Roger, second Baron North (1531–1600)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20312>]; and D.J.B. Trim, 'North, Sir John (c. 1550–1597)', <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20309>; Harold H. Davis, 'The Military Career of Thomas North', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 12 (1948–49): 315–21, esp. 317–18; H.A. Lloyd, *The Rouen Campaign, 1590–1592* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 86; TNA, SP 70/105, ff. 89–90, George North to Sir William Cecil, 11 Jan. 1569; Simon Adams ed., *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558–1561, 1584–1586*, Camden Soc., 5th ser., VI (London: 1995), 364.

⁴⁵ Victor Stater, 'North, Dudley, third Baron North (bap. 1582, d. 1666)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20295>]; for his service in 1602 as well as 1601, see Norman Egbert McClure ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* 2 vols., *Memoirs*, 12 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), nos. 48–49, I, 150, 152, Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 17 and 27 June 1602.

Herbert of Cherbury) served as a gentleman volunteer in the Dutch army in 1610 and 1614 and briefly as an officer with the Huguenots in 1616, and was on good terms with the Elector Palatine and his British wife, Elizabeth. The second brother, Richard, served as a gentleman volunteer and/or junior officer in the Dutch army, where 'he continued many years' and was killed at the siege of Bergen op Zoom in 1622. The third brother, William, was an officer in the Dutch army from at least 1616, but 'lived not long after.' The seventh brother, Thomas, served in the Dutch army in 1610.⁴⁶ Two of their fourth cousins, William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, and the illegitimate Henry Pembroke, fought in the Dutch army as a volunteer in 1600 and an officer from 1601–9 respectively.⁴⁷ Two other probable distant cousins did likewise: Sir Gerard Herbert was a captain in the Dutch army from at least 1616, then a captain under Vere in the Palatinate during 1620–22, commanding the garrison at Heidelberg, where he was killed in battle in September 1622; Henry (later Sir Henry) Herbert was a captain in the Dutch army at least from 1618, sergeant-major by 1622, lieutenant colonel by 1626 and served at least until 1636.⁴⁸

Probably seven (or more) members of the Heydon family of Norfolk fought for the Protestant cause on the continent: two in the sixteenth century, five in the seventeenth. Of the older generation, one, John, had served in the Dutch army in 1586 and again in 1594–98; his brother, Sir Christopher, served in royal English armies in France in 1589 and Spain in 1596, and was an ardent Protestant. In 1621 he wrote darkly of how the Jesuits were 'in all places' and the cause 'of all the troubles

⁴⁶ See Edward Herbert, *Life of Edward Herbert Lord Cherbury*, ed. J.M. Shuttleworth (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 4, 8, 52–58, 68–73, 76–77, 85; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 435. Pace Amy M. Charles, 'Sir Henry Herbert: The Master of the Revels as Man of Letters', *Modern Philology* 80 (Aug. 1982): 2, a sixth brother, Sir Henry, almost certainly was not the Sir Henry Herbert who was a sergeant-major in the Dutch army in 1622, who is discussed below.

⁴⁷ *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, vol. XIII, 1604–1606, ed. H. H. P. Rijperman, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, grote serie, 101 ('s-Gravenhage: 1957), 124, re. 27 Mar. 1604. Chamberlain to Carleton, 24 June 1600, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, no. 30, I, 101; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 457–58.

⁴⁸ TNA: SP 84/74, f. 239, 84/77, f. 73, 84/82, f. 38, Herbert to Carleton, 7 Dec. 1616 n.s., 7 May 1617 n.s., 10 Jan. 1618; E 157/4, 25 Jan. 1618, license for soldiers to join Henry Herbert's coy; E 101/612/7, Pay of English troops serving in the Palatinate; SP 81/27, f. 25, Vere to Sir George Calvert, 7 Sept. 1622; *Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, ed. Bourcier, 98; TNA, SP 81/27, f. 48v, 'Liste vande Compaignen... te velde gaen', 14 Sept. 1622 Crosse, 1584; Knight, 72–73; Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MS 3338, ff. 179v–82v, 'Estat des Troupes de l'armée des Messieurs les Etats', 1635.

in Christendom'; and went on to declare that the marriage James I desired between his heir, Prince Charles, and the Spanish *infanta*, which seemed to be on the verge of being agreed, 'maks my harte to bled, and my hand to tremble to wright it' and prayed 'that sum one or other may stand in the hedg and mak up the breache between God and us... for our Apostasie'.⁴⁹ One of his sons (also John) probably was in the Dutch army c. 1608–10; another, William, was killed serving in the royal expeditionary force sent to France in 1627. Three more Heydons additionally served in the Dutch army and seem likely to have been kinsmen: Edward Heydon in 1605–6; Henry Heydon, at least in 1622; and Sir William Heydon in 1624.⁵⁰

Henry Knollys joined the Dutch army as a gentleman volunteer in 1617 and became a captain in 1626, probably in succession to his kinsman, Sir Robert Knollys, who was a captain under Horace Vere in the Palatinate in 1620, then a captain in the Dutch army in 1624–25; they were both products of one of the most notable Puritan families in England, at least two members of which had fought in the Netherlands (first in Dutch then in queen's pay) in the 1570s and 1580s; a third, Sir Thomas Knollys, served in the Dutch army from 1599 until December 1605.⁵¹ Sir John Wentworth of Gosfield, Essex, twice served as a captain: in the Palatinate in 1620–21 and in the Dutch army in 1624; earlier, he had been a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber of Henry, Prince of Wales. Sir John's kinsman (later to be nephew-in-law), Henry Wentworth, served in the Dutch army as a gentleman volunteer in 1622 and a captain in 1624, and possibly in the Danish army as sergeant-major in 1628–9; his own nephew was later a courtier of Elizabeth of Bohemia.⁵² Their 'distant kinsman', Michael Wentworth,

⁴⁹ Heydon to Nathaniel Bacon, 27 Oct. 1621, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS X.d.502 (10).

⁵⁰ See Trim, 'Mercenaries', 435; Bernard Capp, 'Heydon, Sir Christopher (1561–1623)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13166>]; Stephen Porter, 'Heydon, Sir John (*bap.* 1588, *d.* 1653)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13168>]; *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, XIII, 705, res. 27 May 1606; TNA, SP 81/27, f. 48v, 'Liste vande Compaignen... te velde gaen', 14 Sept. 1622, and SP 105/97, unfol., Earl of Oxford's regimental papers, 1624.

⁵¹ TNA, E 157/3, 3 Aug. 1617, license to pass beyond the seas; HNAN, Archief van de Raad van State, 1908, pt I, English *lias*, unfol., rubric '1626', English troops paid by the receiver-general; TNA, E 101/612/73, pay of English troops serving in the Palatinate, and SP 84/121, ff. 277r, 255v, English companies in the Netherlands, 1624; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 385, 442–43, 508.

⁵² TNA, E 101/612/7, Pay of English troops serving in the Palatinate; SP 105/97, unfol., Earl of Oxford's regimental papers, 1624; Wilks, 'The Pike Charged', 203;

was a gentleman volunteer in the Netherlands in from the autumn of 1623 until at least the late spring of 1625.⁵³

William Fairfax, a lieutenant in the Netherlands from 1617, in the Palatinate in 1620, and a captain there in 1621, where he was killed in action, was son of Sir Thomas Fairfax, author of a notable anti-Catholic treatise, patron of Calvinist ministers, veteran of the Netherlands during Elizabeth's reign, father and grandfather of the leaders of parliament's armies in the north in the civil wars, and himself briefly a company commander in the Palatinate in 1620.⁵⁴ Simon Harcourt, who first joined the Dutch army as a private soldier in 1620 and was an officer in Sir Horace Vere's own company from the mid-1620s, was Vere's nephew and member of a Buckinghamshire family that supplied several volunteers for the Dutch and Huguenots in the 1580s.⁵⁵ William Waller of Kent (later a celebrated parliamentary general), who served the Elector Palatine in Bohemia as a gentleman volunteer in 1620–21, was the grandson of Sampson Lennard.⁵⁶ Sir Edward Sackville, a close friend of Edward Herbert's and another of Prince Henry's Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, whose uncle had fought for the Huguenots during 1589–92, 'received a commission to lead a company of troops' to the Palatinate in 1620; though 'a conceived slight to his honour' meant he did not go, he spoke in favour of intervention in the Palatinate in the

William Crosse, *A generall historie of the Netherlands. Newly reviewed, corrected, and supplied with observations omitted in the first impression*, by Ed. Grimeston. Continued from the year 1608 till the year 1627 by William Crosse. The second impression (London: 1627), 1441; David L. Smith, 'Wentworth, Thomas, earl of Cleveland (1591–1667)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29058>]; Beller, 537; Stuart Reid, 'Wentworth, Thomas, fifth Baron Wentworth (bap. 1613, d. 1665)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29057>].

⁵³ Maurice Lee, Jr, ed., *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603–1624: Jacobean Letters* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 308, 14–16 Sept. 1623; William Knowler ed., *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, With an Essay towards his Life by Sir George Radcliffe*, 2 vols. (London, 1739), I, 18, Sir Thomas Wentworth to Michael Wentworth, 3 Oct. 1623; J.P. Cooper ed., *Wentworth Papers 1597–1628*, Camden 4th ser., XII (London, 1973), 235–6, Michael Wentworth to Sir Thomas Wentworth, 17 May 1625 n.s.; Smith, 'Wentworth' doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/29058.

⁵⁴ Draft biography of Fairfax in *Jacobean House of Commons* (examined by courtesy of Andrew Thrush and the History of Parliament Trust).

⁵⁵ TNA, E 157/5, f. 24r, license to pass beyond the seas, 3 June 1620; E.M. Furgol, 'Harcourt, Sir Simon (bap. 1601? d. 1642)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12242>]. Trim, 'Mercenaries', 434–35.

⁵⁶ Barbara Donagan, 'Waller, Sir William (bap. 1598?, d. 1668)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28561>].

1621 parliament, and in 1622 commanded a company in the Dutch army.⁵⁷

In the early 1620s at least two or three members of the Corbett family of Moreton Corbett, Shropshire, served in the Dutch army. The family was known for its 'godliness', which had included, during Elizabeth's reign, a commitment to Presbyterianism; by marriage it was connected to the family of Sir Edward Conway.⁵⁸ 'Mr Wheate', a Middle Temple barrister who interrupted his grand tour of the continent to serve as a volunteer in the army of the Evangelical Union in Brunswick in 1623, was from a circle of godly lawyers that included Simonds D'Ewes.⁵⁹ In 1624, Sir John Osborne made efforts to obtain a place for his second and eldest surviving son in a privateer, preying on the Spanish, writing of his satisfaction at the new English belligerence; his heir had already been killed fighting for Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia.⁶⁰ The Captain Tyrwhitt who was wounded at Ter Heyde in May 1625 probably was related to the Captain William Tyrwhitt who had served in the garrison of Brill in 1598 and been a captain in the Dutch army in 1599.⁶¹ In the early 1630s, Alexander Pym joined the Dutch army—his father, John, later the celebrated leader of the Long

⁵⁷ Herbert, *Autobiography*, 81–82; Wilks, 'Pike Charged', 203; Richard F. Hardin, 'Sackville, Sir William (1569/70–1592)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40547>]; David L. Smith, 'The 4th Earl of Dorset and the Politics of the Sixteen-Twenties', *Historical Research* 65 (Feb. 1992), 38; SP 81/27, f. 48v, 'Liste vande Compaignen...te velde gaen', 14 Sept. 1622.

⁵⁸ See TNA, E 157/5, f. 30r 157/6, f. 2r, 157/7, f. 7v, licenses to soldiers to pass beyond the seas, 26 July 1620, 26 Feb. 1620, 6 Feb. 1621 (mentioning Captain Corbett, Sergeant John Corbett and Matthew Corbett, the latter possibly unrelated), SP 81/27, f. 48v, 'Liste vande Compaignen...te velde gaen', 14 Sept. 1622 (Captain Corbett); *Wentworth Papers*, ed. Cooper, 235; Dalton, II, 87–88; W.A. Leighton ed., 'Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury, 1372–1603', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 1st ser., 3 (1880): 270; Patrick Collinson, 'The Shearman's Tree and the Preacher: The Strange Death of Merry England in Shrewsbury and Beyond', in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500–1640*, ed. idem and John Craig (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 292; Jaqueline Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the Outbreak of the English Civil War* (1990; Glasgow: Hardinge Simpole, 2002), 17, 35, 40–41.

⁵⁹ *Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, ed. Bourcier, 151.

⁶⁰ Osborne to John Coke, Master of Requests, HMC, *Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper*, vol. I (London: 1888), 161 (I owe this reference to Simon Healy).

⁶¹ Cooper, *Wentworth Papers*, 235, Michael Wentworth to Sir Thomas Wentworth, 17 May 1625; HNAN, Archief van de Staten-Generaal 5883-ii, no. 230, list of English companies, 20 Sept. 1598, Staten-Generaal 4891, *lias* April 1599, unfol., 'Staet' of coys paid by the receiver-general.

Parliament, had been raised in 'a protestantism far hotter than... conventional Calvinism' and, in the 1628 parliament, had identified himself with the Puritans.⁶²

All this gives a sense of the typical family and patronage contexts of English military émigrés and what this reveals about their religion. More examples like these, and of soldiers who demonstrated, by their words or deeds, commitment to militant Protestantism, could be adduced. English officers who made their careers in Protestant Europe during the first half of the seventeenth century were typically men whose connections and convictions alike reveal strongly-held and active Protestant (particularly Puritan) commitment.

The soldiers examined in this essay did not always fight for Protestants against Catholics: a number also served at some point for Protestants against other Protestants, or for Catholics. For example, William Herbert and Lord Willoughby fought for Denmark against Sweden in 1612;⁶³ Henry Peyton and John Vere fought for Venice, and Edward Herbert and Henry Earl of Oxford, were interested in raising troops for Venice, in its 1616–18 War of Gradisca with Austria; and Edward and William Herbert raised troops to fight for the Duke of Savoy against Spain.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, in each of the latter cases, their willingness to serve Catholics was directly connected to the fact that the opponents they would be fighting were Habsburgs. Furthermore, although it is impossible to be definitive, all the indications are that the great majority who fought for foreign Protestants did so only in wars against Catholics.

Yet this is not to say that all were model Christians while on active service. Many do seem to have lived up to their ideals, but the praise given to men such as Burgh, Harwood and Proud implies that they were not typical. Drunkenness and debauchery are frequently release valves for men who risk death in combat, and this was true for many godly

⁶² Conrad Russell, 'Pym, John (1584–1643)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22926>, accessed 2 May 2008].

⁶³ Herbert, 8; HL, Ellesmere MS 1612, instructions to Lord Willoughby, 'Collonel-generall of the English in service of the King of Denmark', 1612; cf. Ellesmere MS 1641, 'A true reporte of our service by Lande'.

⁶⁴ D.J.B. Trim, 'Peyton, Sir Henry (d. 1623)', *Oxford DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22079>]; Trim, 'Mercenaries', 477; Stater, 'Henry de Vere' doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28210; Herbert, 76–77, 85–86, 88.

soldiers, whose lifestyles were not always models of godliness, as some later admitted.⁶⁵ But it is not uncommon for people to be unable invariably to live up to an ideology and this does not mean that the ideology is unimportant or unvalued. The soldiers examined in this chapter had all volunteered—they were in the field, risking their lives, because they had made a choice. The choice to serve in a foreign Protestant army points to an underlying religious-ideological commitment.

This in turn is not to say that the original decision to go a-soldiering was determined only by religion. It was also influenced by considerations of glory, adventure, wealth and security; soldiers were trying to prove their manhood, find excitement, avoid domestic problems, make a reputation, make a living, make a military career; and contemporaries recognised that these were factors in the decision to become a soldier. Richard and William Herbert served ‘in the wars of the Low Countries’, a family friend wrote later, in order ‘to purchase honour’.⁶⁶ In 1624, Sir Benjamin Rudyard could observe in a debate in the House of Commons that ‘every younger brother that hath but 20 pounds in his purse and his arms may go stocked for a profession and course of life’ to serve in the Palatinate.⁶⁷ Alexander Pym joined a foreign army to avoid his debts and his father’s anger about his debts—anger so great that in November 1634 John wrote to his son that they could never be reconciled.⁶⁸ However, assessing motivational factors is partly a question of balance. Honour for Protestant English gentlemen was not to be gained by serving anti-Christian forces. Sir Benjamin Rudyard not only assumed that younger sons were seeking a place they could turn a profit, and/or find a vocation; he also assumed that they would do so by serving a Protestant prince. Alexander Pym became a soldier to escape his debts and his father—but it was the Dutch army he joined. If lifestyle and financial factors frequently were what chiefly impelled men overseas, religion must have been a key factor, in an era of confessional conflict, in their choice about *where* and *who* they served; and

⁶⁵ E.g., North, sig. A4v.

⁶⁶ Izaak Walton, *The Life of Mr. George Herbert*, App. 3 in George Herbert, *The Complete English Works*, ed. Ann Pasternak Slater, Everyman’s Library, 204 (London: David Campbell, 1995), 339.

⁶⁷ TNA, 14/160/8, quoted in Robert E. Ruigh, *The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign Policy*, Harvard Historical Studies, 87 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 36.

⁶⁸ BL, Additional MS 11692, f. 1r (I owe my knowledge of this letter to the late Conrad Russell).

all the factors together shaped whether a man served in one campaign, as a kind of military tourist, or committed himself to the life of a military émigré. Where religion was central to identity, it must have been as important as the other factors in these key decisions. And as we have seen, Protestant faith—particularly Calvinism—was central to the family and self-identity of the chief English contributors to Europe's early seventeenth-century wars of religion. This strongly suggests it was also a significant part of why all but a small minority served as soldiers in Protestant armies, even though for most of this period it was legal for them to serve in Catholic armies.

The question of motivation is, indeed, illuminated by reference to the experience of the other English military émigrés of this period, those fighting on the other side of the confessional divide. The number of English soldiers serving the Habsburgs was typically no more than a quarter and sometimes less than a sixth of those in continental Calvinist service.⁶⁹ However, while most Englishmen preferred Protestant service, there are indications that those in Roman Catholic armies, too, were in many cases motivated by confessional factors, albeit a different confession.⁷⁰

By c. 1640 things may have been beginning to change. In 1639, Edmund Verney, scion of a family with a history of service in Protestant armies, could write home from Flanders on the likelihood of war: 'Twere sport for us to heare that all the world were in combustion, for then we could not want worke. O 'tis a blessed trade!'⁷¹ However, in the first four decades of the seventeenth century, soldiering for English military émigrés was more than a career. They did not join the first army that would take them. They discriminated between armies of different confessions.

Historians have generally been sceptical about the importance of religion in motivating foreign service as regards sixteenth-century Scottish soldiers, but perhaps investigation on similar lines might reveal similar

⁶⁹ See e.g., Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1659*, corr. edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), app. A; René Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog: Filips IV en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1629–1648* (Maastricht: Shaker, 2001), 154n.; Trim, 'Mercenaries', apps. 2, 10; Knight, 68–70; Mark Charles Fissel, *English Warfare 1511–1642* (London: Routledge, 2001), 270.

⁷⁰ Trim, 'Mercenaries', 308. This is a subject that needs further exploration.

⁷¹ John Bruce ed., *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family down to the End of the Year 1639*, Camden 1st ser., LVI (1853), 270.

influences to those obtaining among English Protestant officers and gentlemen volunteers.⁷² Of the recent scholars of Scottish and Irish military émigrés cited at the very beginning of this chapter, several have queried the received historiographical wisdom that early-modern mercenaries *invariably* were actuated simply by socioeconomic circumstances. Instead, the newly emerging picture seems to be that many Scots and Irish soldiers were motivated by ideological commitment and/or were drawn into foreign service by complex social and cultural connections. I suggest that this is also very much true of seventeenth-century English soldiers serving in Continental armies.

This essay's overall argument, then, is that in order to understand why so many people from the British Isles became military émigrés in the first half of the seventeenth century it is necessary to consider, not only the economic context, but also kinship, culture, and *mentalités*, especially religion.⁷³ Perhaps this is something on which students of Scottish, Irish, English (and indeed Welsh) military émigrés might all agree.

⁷² Cf. Arthur Williamson, 'Scotland and the Rise of Civic Culture, 1550–1650', *History Compass* 4 (2006): 91–123.

⁷³ As I have shown elsewhere, most rank-and-file English mercenaries were not 'scum of the earth', picked up from roadsides and alleyways by pressgangs, but members of extended aristocratic affinities, the kin, clients, tenants, retainers and other servants of officers: Trim, 'Mercenaries', chs. 7, 8.

PART FOUR

CATHOLICS AT HOME AND ABROAD

SCOTTISH CATHOLICS ABROAD, 1603–88:
EVIDENCE DERIVED FROM THE ARCHIVES OF
THE SCOTS COLLEGES

Tom McNally

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a number of colleges were established in continental Europe for the education of Scottish Catholics. Although they acted mainly as seminaries, they also had a wider role in providing higher education for men and boys. It is known that at least 900 students attended the Scots Colleges in the period from 1603 to 1688. Almost 90% of the students came from Scotland; the remaining 10% were either sons of expatriates or non-Scots. Most of them (approximately 60%) returned home on completion of their studies. Those who did not, spent their lives in the church, the military, education or academia, while a small number entered the service of foreign states as agents or couriers or else followed careers in commerce. The archives of the colleges, particularly the registers, provide much valuable information on the students which in turn sheds light on Scottish communities outside of Scotland at this time.¹ Thus, the principal objective of this paper is to present some of the key findings from the registers in relation to these. A secondary objective is to demonstrate, through the use of one example, that these communities had close and active connections with the colleges and through them with each other.

The Origin of the Colleges

As part of the Treaty of Edinburgh passed by the Scottish Parliament in 1560, it became mandatory for anyone wishing to graduate from a Scottish university to ascribe to the Confession of Faith. For a few years, Catholics were able to attend the University of Aberdeen which, under the protection of Mary Queen of Scots, defied Parliament on

¹ *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon* Volume I. Register of Students (Aberdeen, New Spalding Club: 1906. (Hereafter RSC)

this matter.² When Mary fled to England, however, this provision was no longer openly available to them. Later, in 1575, while imprisoned in England, the queen sent her ambassador, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, to petition Pope Gregory XIII for permission to set up a college for the education of Scots for the priesthood, similar to the German College which he had recently established in Rome. The outcome was the establishment of a Scots college at Pont-à-Mousson in the territory of the queen's uncle, Henry I, Duke of Guise.³ The college functioned until 1589 when, following Mary's execution and the assassination of Henry, it closed due to lack of funds. Fortunately, the rector of the college, William Crichton S.J., managed to obtain alternative funding and reopened the college in 1593 in Douai in the Spanish Netherlands.⁴ The college flourished there for 200 years before being forcibly closed by the French Revolutionary Government.

This first college was added to later by others which were opened in Rome in 1600, Paris in 1603 and Madrid in 1627. First, in 1600, Bishop Leslie petitioned Pope Clement VIII, in the hope of opening a college for Scots in Rome as part of the Jubilee celebrations. The pope was influenced by the argument that Scotland shortly would have a more important role to play in Europe with the imminent succession of James VI to the English throne. Apart from a minor interruption when the French invaded in the late eighteenth century, the Roman College has continued to function from then until the present day. The college in Paris was founded when Archbishop James Beaton, the last remaining member of the Pre-Reformation Scottish hierarchy, died in exile there in 1603, and left his property to fund a college for Scots in that city. His new college incorporated a medieval establishment called the College of Grisy which had been founded by the Bishop of Moray, David Innes, as part of the University of Paris, in the early fourteenth century. Indeed, the Scots College in Paris grew over the next two centuries and was highly popular in part due to the long standing connections between Scotland and France. Like its counterpart in Douai, it was closed by the French Revolutionary Government and its property

² Leslie Macfarlane, 'Chapter Two', in Jane Geddes ed., *Kings College Chapel, 1500–2000* (Aberdeen: 2000), 24.

³ Anthony D. Wright, 'Rome, 'The Papacy and The Foundations of National Colleges in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries'', in Raymond McCluskey ed., *The Scots College Rome 1600–2000* (Edinburgh: 2000) 4.

⁴ Wright, 'Rome', 4.

confiscated at the end of the eighteenth century. Similarly, the opening of the Scots College in Madrid in 1627 was funded by a bequest. The benefactor this time was Colonel William Semple, an illegitimate member of the family of Lord Semple of Lochwinnoch. Semple had been in the service of the Spanish monarchy for over fifty years, under three kings—Phillip II, Phillip III and Phillip IV. During his lifetime, he had supported the Scots College in Douai financially.⁵ On Semple's death, his house in Madrid was gifted to a new Scots College under the rectorship of his nephew, Hugh Semple S.J. Thereafter, the college had two periods when it was taken over by Spanish Jesuits⁶ but, on the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Spain in 1767, the Scots regained control and reopened their foundation in Valladolid in 1770. This latter college continued to operate there for over two hundred years before relocating to Salamanca in 1988.

With the exception of the Paris College, which was run by secular priests, all of the colleges were staffed and run by Jesuits. The influence of the Society of Jesus on the colleges and their students was, indeed, significant and many of the alumni joined their Society. However, the Jesuits were not the only religious order to have a significant influence on Scottish Catholics abroad. Another resource available to them lay in the Scottish Province of the Benedictine Order which by 1595 had managed to secure exclusive ownership of three monasteries in Southern Germany.⁷ Known as the *Schottenkloster*, they were located in the cities of Regensburg, Würzburg and Erfurt. (See Map 1) The monasteries were small and, during the period under discussion, the number of monks was limited to a few dozen but, nevertheless, they provided valuable additions to the support available to the Scottish Catholic Diaspora and were frequently used as refuges for travellers.⁸

⁵ His early career had been spent in the Spanish Netherlands fighting against the States General in the service of Phillip II. While there he became acquainted with the Scots college in Douai and personally provided bursaries for six students. Maurice Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid: 1971), 19.

⁶ From 1670 to 1693 and from 1734 to 1767. See Taylor, *The Scots College*, 34.

⁷ Mark Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia* (Edinburgh: 1974) 11–21.

⁸ James Fraser was a graduate of the University of Aberdeen who traveled widely in Europe in the middle of the seventeenth century. Although he was not a Catholic he was allowed to stay as a guest at the *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg as well as the Scots College in Douai. In the journal of his travels he gave extensive descriptions of the monastery and college including the staff, students as well as the buildings. It is significant, perhaps, that the students used aliases when in his company—none of the names which he records for them corresponds with the college registers for the period



Map 1

Each of the colleges and *Schottenkloster* kept records of their students and staff. Unfortunately, the survival of these archives has not been complete. The registers of the colleges at Douai, Rome and Madrid are largely intact but the monastery at Regensburg has fragmentary records only. In the cases of the Paris College and the monasteries at Würzburg and Erfurt, the records are lost and only very limited reconstructions have been possible. In all, records remain of 874 students who attended the colleges between 1603 and 1688. This can be seen as a minimum figure particularly as the Paris College is known to have been one of the most active. The amount of biographical information which the college registers provide on their students, varies from the minimum of a statement of name and date of entry to substantial details including letters of recommendation, details regarding their families and, in a number of cases, later careers. Analyses of these records provide information on the distribution of expatriate Scottish communities on continental Europe. Three such analyses will illustrate this.

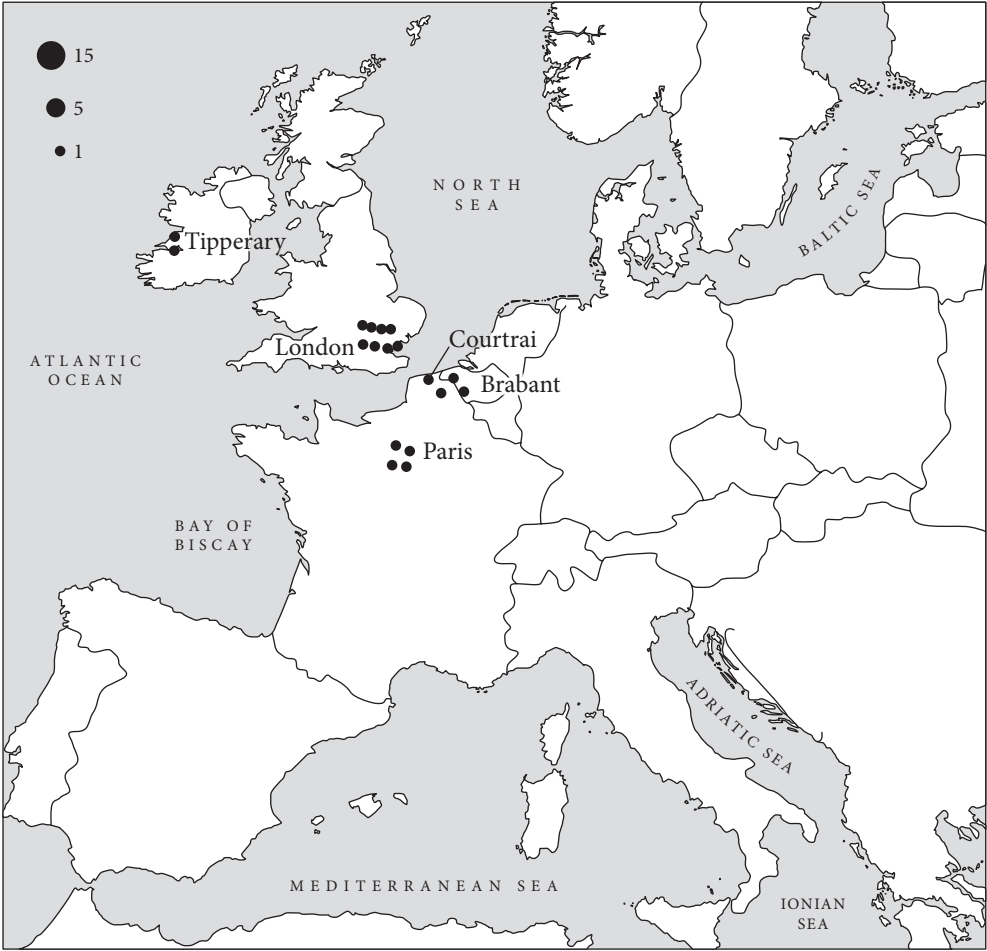
Sons of expatriate parents

An obvious example where the records point to the presence of Scottish communities abroad can be found in those students whose parentage was Scots but who were born or lived outside Scotland. There are eighteen such records with respect to individuals of whom eight were born on the continent.⁹ As can be seen from Map 2, London had the greatest concentration of expatriate Scots Catholics with a small number also in Ireland. Those shown on continental Europe are entirely in the Low Countries and Northern France. Almost all of the students concerned were registered at the Scots college in Douai and proximity to the college would have been a strong influence on the parents' choice of sending their sons there. Douai acted as a junior seminary (teaching the *Trivium* to students aged 12 to 18 years)¹⁰ for the greater part of

of his stay. Aberdeen University Library Special Collections, MS 2538, Vol. III, f. 10R and f. 137V, *Journal of Travels of James Fraser, made in 1657–1660*.

⁹ RSC, 12, 13, 17, 18, 34, 38, 55, 102, 114, 198.

¹⁰ The *Trivium* (covering three subjects) consisted of three years of grammar, one of rhetoric and a final year of advanced humanities. Douai offered these studies on a trilingual basis i.e. Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The Jesuits' excellent reputation as educators would also have been a very strong influence on parental choice.



Map 2

its existence. During the period under discussion, most of the college alumni who continued their studies on completion of the *Trivium* did so at the Scots College in Paris where the *Quadrivium* was taught.¹¹ A concentration of students from the Spanish Netherlands and Paris is therefore to be expected. As well as providing evidence for communities of Scots in these areas at this time the registers also demonstrate that Catholic members of such communities wished to maintain contact with their compatriot co-religionists.

This desire raises a question of how similar Scottish communities elsewhere in Europe—particularly in Central Europe—dealt with these needs. The college archives provide little in the way of an answer to this question. However, evidence of other developments in Europe can shed some light on the issue. Prior to Fr. Crichton establishing the college in Pont-à-Mousson, his contemporaries in the Society of Jesus were intimately involved in setting up the Lyceum Hosianum in Braunsberg, Royal Prussia¹² to accommodate Catholic students from all of the northern countries where Catholicism had been outlawed. In 1564 the cardinal archbishop of Ermland, Stanislaus Hosius, petitioned the pope to provide help to set up his foundation.¹³ Three of the ten Jesuits sent from Rome to accomplish this task were Scots. Prominent among them was Fr. Robert Abercromby who visited Scotland in 1580 to recruit students for the new college. From that time onwards for over sixty years Scottish students attended at Braunsberg.¹⁴ There are also recorded, during this period, students with Scottish names who are described as being Polish.¹⁵ Scottish communities in Central

¹¹ The *Quadrivium* offered a choice of four faculties—philosophy, theology, law or medicine—each normally requiring four years of study. Students studying for the priesthood were usually required to take philosophy and theology, thereby gaining a further eight years of higher education in addition to the five years spent on the *Trivium*. These men came to know a significant number of their fellow students during their time at college. The friendships formed helped cement the networks which the alumni of the Scots Colleges created.

¹² Now Braniewo in Poland.

¹³ M.G. Murphy, 'Robert Abercromby, SJ (1536–1613) and the Baltic Counter Reformation' *Innes Review*, 50 (1999), 56.

¹⁴ Forty-three Scottish students' names are recorded in the registers of Braunsberg University. Bellesheim, *A History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, 3 vols., III (Edinburgh: 1890), 455.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* During the Thirty Years War teaching at Braunsberg was severely disrupted when Swedish troops overran the territory. The Scottish connection was re-established, however, in the mid-seventeenth century when Patrick Gordon (later a general in the Imperial Russian Army) studied there.

Europe, therefore, did not need to use the Scots colleges in order to have their sons educated as Catholics alongside other Scots. Although the Scottish connection with the Jesuits at Braunsberg had ceased by the middle of the seventeenth century, some evidence exists for the attendance of central European students at the Scots colleges after this time, the limited surviving records of the *Schottenkloster* suggesting also that in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Scots were using the monasteries at Regensburg and Würzburg for educational purposes.

Secular Priests with Continental Benefices

Since the colleges operated as seminaries, one might expect a significant number of their alumni to have been ordained; the records show this to be the case. Approximately a third became secular priests or entered one of the regular orders, principally the Society of Jesus. In the period under discussion, the college registers identify 280 priests of whom 100 worked as missionaries in Scotland. Many of those who did not return to Scotland joined religious orders and stayed in one of their order's houses in their chosen country of exile:¹⁶ Others became chaplains, military or personal. Others still, however, were fortunate enough to obtain benefices in mainland Europe; eighteen are recorded as having achieved this. The significance of this latter group lies in the fact that such benefices were extremely difficult to obtain and would have been beyond the reach of anyone who did not have support, either through the influence of local Scottish communities or ties of kinship.

The Council of Trent had expressly forbidden all dioceses from offering ecclesiastical livings within their jurisdiction to non-nationals. This step was taken to help stamp out the abuse of holding multiple benefices and the consequent neglect of congregations by absentee pastors. In light of this ruling any ecclesiastical living which could be awarded justifiably to a non-national was the subject of intense com-

¹⁶ From the late sixteenth century, with the exception of the Benedictines, the Scottish Provinces of all of the religious orders had ceased to exist. Scots who wished to become Franciscans or Dominicans had to join the Irish Provinces of these orders. Oratorians and Lazarists were under French control. Scottish Jesuits joined whatever province was convenient. (See below)

petition from different nationalities. In particular the Irish seminaries in Europe were producing large numbers of priests who could take up such appointments.¹⁷ Nevertheless, some Scottish secular priests who did not return to Scotland managed to obtain prestigious continental benefices. (See Map 3)

Although it is impossible to be certain about the basis on which the Scots were awarded these benefices, reasonable conjectures can be made. Matthew Hamilton and James Nesmyth were appointed canons of the cathedral in Perona (modern Pärnu, Estonia) at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁸ Perona was a Hanseatic port and would have contained a community of Scottish merchants. It is difficult to imagine how two unrelated priests could have obtained such prestigious positions without the help of the wider Scottish community. In order to do this the Scots in Perona must have wielded considerable influence either through their numbers or economic importance. Alexander Meldrum was appointed principal of the college in Carducci in Italy.¹⁹ This may have been due to his academic achievements rather than local Scottish influence although some local patronage is likely to have been needed to obtain the most senior position in the college. In the case of John Galloway, who was appointed canon to the Cathedral of B. Maria Casleti in Piedmont, it is inconceivable that this could have been achieved without at least some family support or other such influence.²⁰ Generally, the college registers give no details regarding a number of other alumni who took up appointments in Italy, Spain, France and the Low Countries other than the fact that they did so.²¹ In the case of William Leslie, however, it is recorded that he was appointed canon of St. Quentin's in Amiens, France, having "inherited" the position from his uncle.²² Influence regarding valuable benefices appears to have been passed down the generations in his case. John Menzies, who was appointed a canon of St Geneviève's in Paris in 1649, entered

¹⁷ Ciaran O'Scea, 'The Irish Catholic Exile in Early-Modern Galicia 1598–1666' in Thomas O'Connor ed., *The Irish in Europe 1580–1815* (Dublin: 2001) 27–48.

¹⁸ RSC, 2.

¹⁹ RSC, 2.

²⁰ RSC, 6.

²¹ Roderick Maclain, Spain; George Tournbulle, Avenione, Italy; John Greirson, Anderlecht, RSC p. 3; John Fraser and Joseph Drummond, Paris, RSC p. 102; Alexander Brown, Chartres; Archibald Heggat, Bordeaux, RSC p. 20; Charles Foncanot (from Edinburgh), Spain, RSC, p. 27.

²² RSC, 20–1.



Map 3

the reformed order of the canons regular at a time when it was gaining prominence in the city and throughout France.²³ The Order's acceptance of the Scot may again have been due simply to its programme of expansion rather than family influence. Yet the same cannot be said of a contemporary of Menzies, James Barclay, who took up the position of curé in a French parish at the same time.²⁴ Although the records give no details, his appointment is very likely to have been helped by his family or wider Scottish influence.

The college registers also record many of the priests who worked on the Mission in Scotland but were forced by exile or ill-health to return to mainland Europe. No financial provisions were made for these individuals and they were required to survive as best they could.²⁵ Many entered regular orders to obtain suitable material support after their labours. The college records often show where they settled but in these cases nothing can be inferred regarding local Scottish communities and they have not been included in Map 3. Despite problems of interpretation, the entries regarding secular priests in the college records provide enough information to identify or reinforce recognition of the existence of some of the Scottish communities in mainland Europe. Similarly an analysis of Scottish Jesuits in Europe can give valuable information regarding the Scottish diaspora, although interpretation of these outcomes requires even greater care.

Scottish Jesuit Postings

Most, but not all of the Scots who entered the Society of Jesus, had initially studied at one or more of the Scots Colleges. The colleges in Douai, Rome and Madrid were run by Jesuits and it is not surprising that their records show most detail for those alumni who entered the Society: the names of 157 such students are recorded and of these fifty-two are shown to have worked in Scotland as missionaries for at least part of their careers. The remaining 105 were given postings elsewhere

²³ RSC, 36. Menzies was the son of Thomas Menzies of Balgannie and Margaret Gordon of Aberfeldy and Grandhome. It is possible that his Gordon connections secured the position for him.

²⁴ Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris 1603–1792* (Edinburgh: 2003), 210.

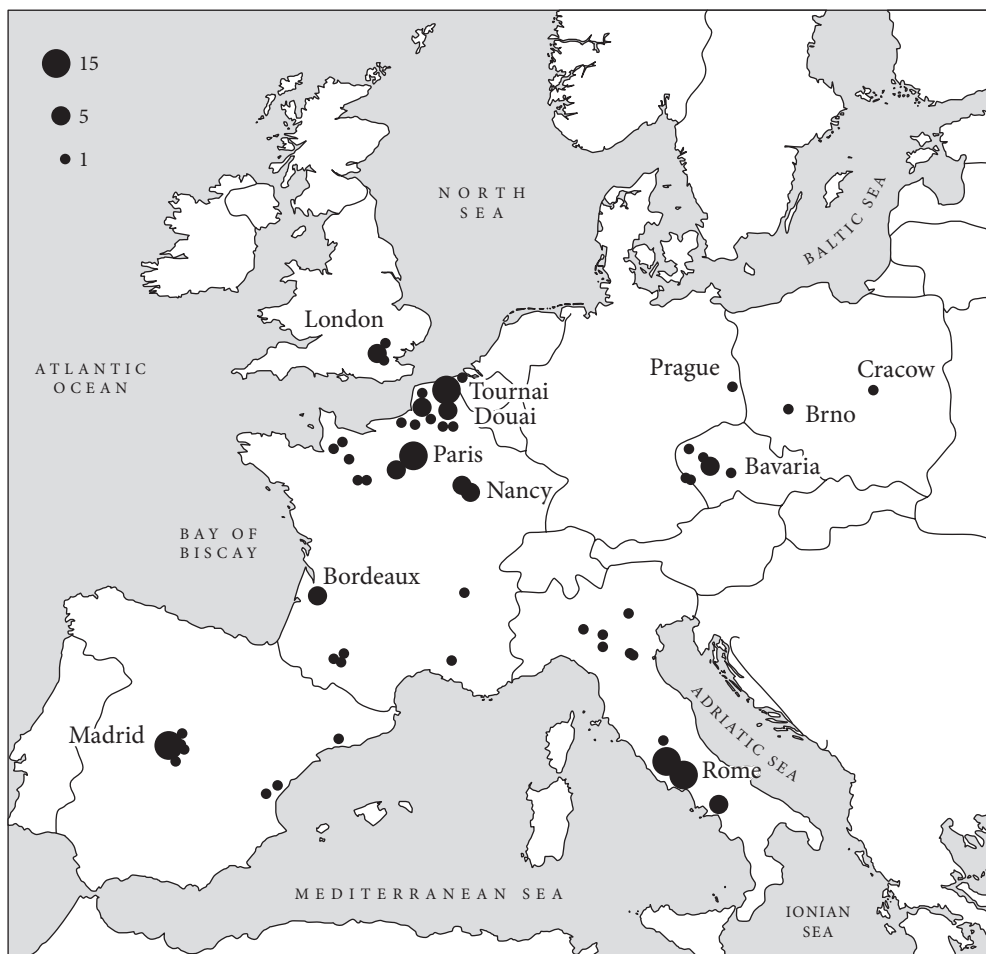
²⁵ After 1650, special provision was made for secular priests in the Scots College in Paris where apartments were available for them and financial support was given by *Propaganda Fide*.

in Europe. These postings lasted in duration from several months to their entire careers. Unlike secular priests, in the seventeenth century Jesuits would have had little personal input regarding the decision as to where they should work. Scots Jesuits had the additional disadvantage of having no Scottish Province of the Society. Consequently, Scots commonly enrolled in the German, Austrian, French, Spanish or one of the Italian Provinces, and, latterly, were directed towards the English Province. The postings which they received from their Provincial superiors, therefore, were widespread and not necessarily related to Scottish communities abroad. Nevertheless, the Society believed that it was most effective when its members were working amongst their compatriots. Indeed, it attempted to place members in positions where they would be dealing with their fellow nationals. Therefore, the large number of records available for Jesuit postings can provide a wider picture of Scottish activity in Europe. (See Map 4)

As can be seen, the pattern of distribution reinforces the impression previously given by Maps 2 and 3. Paris and the Low Countries again feature prominently as does London. The distribution is, moreover, indicative of the wider Scottish community throughout France. Major cities such as Bordeaux, Nancy, Lyons and Marseilles are recorded. Central European locations are shown too and include Prague, Brno and Cracow. However, the postings to these locations as well as to Bavaria all appear to have been of short duration and may represent diplomatic/courier missions conducted by a small number of priests.²⁶ The postings to Spain and Italy are heavily weighted towards Madrid and Rome and are likely to have been made due to a need to minister to non-resident Scots visiting the Spanish or Papal courts. A number of them, however, took up official court positions and in Rome some were also attached to the staff of the Society's headquarters.²⁷ The postings to other areas such as Aragon, Piedmont and Naples, represent

²⁶ John MacBreck had a number of postings in Central Europe. He was a polyglot who, in the late 1630s, was used by William Lesley, the rector of the Scots College in Douai, to conduct business in Dorstat and Ninneghen (sic) and by Andrew Lesley to conduct business in Germany. While there he was in correspondence with and taking instructions from Dom. Grierson in Dunkirk. By 1645, he had moved on to the Polish court in Cracow as official Italian language interpreter. See *RSC* 11–2. John Innes SJ pursued a similar career as a courier/business agent in the Austrian Province later in the century. *RSC*, 58.

²⁷ James Innes S.J. was on the personal staff of the General of the Society, Mutio Vitelleschi, and took up postings in Rome and Naples from 1625. *RSC*, 19.



Map 4

placements at Jesuit colleges and are consistent with them taking up teaching appointments. Valuable as these indications are, it is nevertheless frustrating to be restricted to the very limited information which the records provide. Research in the archives of the Society of Jesus (ARSI) in Rome has added some biographical detail to a number of the Scots listed in the college records. However, many of them are not preserved in ARSI since the Society lost a significant part of its archives following its suppression in the late eighteenth century.

Networks Among the Scots

As can be seen from Map 4, the Scottish Jesuits displayed great mobility during this period. In this they were typical of many of their countrymen. With this mobility came the creation and preservation of a network of contacts between individuals and communities. The college records give examples of strong and lasting connections between alumni and their families at home and abroad, many of which survived over a number of generations.²⁸ Besides, the networks were often strengthened through intermarriage in Scotland.²⁹ The ties which they maintained with Scots in continental Europe were also strong. Surviving correspondence in the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh bears full testimony to the degree to which the widespread communities kept in contact over many years. An image is conjured up, not of disparate groupings, but of a cluster of Scottish communities in regular contact with each other either directly or through a postal service dependent in large part on the colleges.

The following example will help to illustrate these points. Due to the prevalence of common surnames, it is sometimes difficult to be sure of the exact identity of the particular Gordon, Grant, Forbes etc. to which the college records are referring. For this reason, a unique entry

²⁸ The three Menzies brothers who entered the Scots College in Douai in 1640s began a family connection with the Scots colleges and *Schottenkloster* which continued unbroken through five generations and over 150 years. *RSC*, 34, 36, 42, 48, 65, 74, 251.

²⁹ There are numerous examples of intermarriage. Branches of the Gordon family formed marriage partnerships with those of the name of Bisset, Leslie, Menzies, Leask, Bonneyman, Anderson, Crichton, Fordyce and Lyon, all of whom had family connections with the colleges. Forbes, Fraser and Douglas are other families who formed numerous connections through inter-marriage with college alumni.

has been chosen to demonstrate the extent of the relationships which were possible.

Udislaus Zawadski entered the Scots College in Douai on 21 September 1642. He is recorded as having been aged eighteen and to have been accompanied by an unnamed Flemish servant from Arras.³⁰ Although he was a convictor (i.e. someone residing in the college but not committed to a course of study) he is recorded as studying philosophy. Udislaus is the only Polish student in any of the records of the Scots Colleges and through his parentage is precisely identifiable. His attendance presents the problem of why the Scots at Douai should have admitted him. All of the colleges were repeatedly reminded by *Propaganda Fide* and the missionaries in Scotland to reserve all available places for Scots so as to ensure as good a supply of missionaries as possible.³¹ Despite this, the colleges occasionally admitted non-Scots and argued that they did so on the grounds of increasing revenue in order to subsidise poor Scots students. However, there was usually another reason, often diplomatic pressure or personal influence, why the college principals risked the displeasure of their superiors in this way. This appears to have been the case with Zawadski.

His parents were Lord Jan Zawadski and Lady Zophia Sabina of Szuerein (Schwerin). Pan Jan held a number of important positions within the Polish State. In the early 1630s he was not only a starosta of Świecie in Royal Prussia but a royal secretary. He was Castellan of Gdańsk from 1637 to 1642 when he was appointed voivod (*wojewoda*) of Parnawa in Livonia (Palatine ruler of present day Pärnu in Estonia) a title which was largely honorific since the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth had lost the city to the advancing armies of Gustavus Adolphus in 1629. The Polish King Vladislav IV (r. 1632–1648) also used Jan Zawadski on important missions.³² Through his many duties and actions he had a number of opportunities to become acquainted with Scots who had strong connections to the colleges. When the Swedish troops overran Pärnu in the Thirty Years War, it is certain

³⁰ RSC, 35.

³¹ William Leslie, who was rector of the Douai College at the time of Zawadski's admission, had previously been the Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Scotland and would have been loathe to admit a non-Scot. Zawadski's presence is, therefore, all the more difficult to understand.

³² For fuller details, the diary of Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł is helpful. See A. Przyboś and R. Żelewski eds., *Memoriale rerum gestarum in Polonia* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków-Gdańsk: 1968–1974). This covers the period 1632–1656.

that Catholic refugees would have tried to reach Poland and, as voivod of Parnawa, he would have had responsibility for their welfare. It is possible, therefore, that he would have known the canons of the city's cathedral. As previously mentioned the Scots, Matthew Hamilton and James Nesmyth, held this position prior to this and may have been under an obligation to the voivod which they sought to repay through requesting that their old college accept Udislaus as a scholar.

In 1636, King Vladislav IV sent Jan Zawadski to the court of King Charles I in London. His mission was to negotiate a marriage between Vladislav and Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, Charles' niece and daughter of Frederick V, Elector Palatinate and Elizabeth, the 'Winter Queen' and elder sister of Charles. Frederick had died in 1632 and Charles was, therefore, the senior male member of the family. While in London, Zawadski, as a visiting Catholic nobleman, must have come into contact with the Papal envoy to the court of Queen Henrietta, George Conn.³³ Conn was a Scot who had attended the Scots College in Rome. He was a very personable individual who made friends easily which accounted in part for his appointment to this diplomatically sensitive position. He would surely have tried to support Zawadski in his commission, help that he would have needed since he was not adroit diplomatically.³⁴ Conn had been a student at the Roman College shortly after William Lesley, who later became the rector of the Scots College in Douai.³⁵ Any introduction that Conn might have provided for Zawadski would have carried considerable weight with Lesley.

After the failure of his mission in London, Zawadski was instructed by King Vladislav to go to the French court and try to arrange a marriage for Vladislav with the French princess, Maria Gonzaga. Zawadski also failed in this commission, and Vladislav married a Habsburg princess, Cecilia Renata of Austria, instead. Following her death in 1644, nevertheless, Vladislav sent a second embassy to France to arrange a marriage with Maria Gonzaga. One of the members of this later embassy was John MacBreck who had been appointed official court interpreter to Vladislav. MacBreck was a Scots Jesuit who had attended both the

³³ See Charles Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome* (London: 1935) for an account of his mission to Charles' court. Also RSC, 27, 106.

³⁴ On the impending failure of his mission, Zawadski resorted to threat and bluster, reminding King Charles that there were upwards of 40,000 Scots in Poland and he could have them expelled!

³⁵ RSC, 96, 103.

Scots college in Douai and Rome. He was well known to William Lesley who had used him to conduct business in Germany prior to MacBreck's appointment to the Polish court in 1641.³⁶ A requirement of MacBreck's establishment at court would have been for him to form friendships with as many prominent courtiers as possible. Under these circumstances he would have met Zawadski. Discovery that the Polish lord was intending sending his son to college could have been seen by MacBreck as an opportunity to advance his own and the Jesuit cause at court. A request from him to William Lesley would, in effect, have provided an argument for a wider benefit to the Society than simply additional income for the Scots College from the student's fees. It is clear that MacBreck prospered at Vladislav's court since he was given a position on the prestigious second embassy to the court of France.³⁷ The members of this embassy would also have been aware of Zawadski's failed attempt of nine years previously and consultation with him would have been not only courteous but desirable to achieve success in the new attempt. MacBreck would, therefore, have continued to have close dealings with Pan Jan. Of the three possible Scottish ties which the Polish lord had then, that of MacBreck is the one most likely to have been used to gain admittance to the Scots College in Douai for his son; the dates of acquaintanceship and admission to the college coincide. However, his connections with the Scots of Pärnu and the Papal envoy, George Conn, could have been equally meaningful.

This example of a Polish nobleman having multiple connections to the Scots in Europe and their colleges is ample, if indirect, evidence of the degree to which Scots (in this case Catholics) could establish and use networks involving their fellow countrymen. The college archives make clear that Scots Catholics used numerous means of access to the colleges and the networks which they supported. Indeed, the colleges they founded were an integral part of the Scots community both at home and abroad with an enduring relevance to its wellbeing thereby ensuring their continued use and support by Scottish Catholics.

³⁶ RSC, 11, 12.

³⁷ This is significant since Vladislav is known to have been inimical to the Jesuit Order. He closed their college in Cracow in 1634 because of the enmity between them and Vladislav's Jagiellonian University in the city. His attitude to them had not changed by 1640 when he forbade them from re-opening a college in Cracow.

IRISH FRANCISCAN NETWORKS AT HOME AND ABROAD, 1607–1640

Thomas O'Connor

Confessional differences in Ireland tended to harden toward the end of the sixteenth century, obliging Irish laity and clergy to opt for either the state church or the locally available Catholic alternative. From the middle of the century, recusant communities, centred in the ports and the towns of Munster and Leinster, had already begun to bypass the English and Scots universities and were sending sons intended for ecclesiastical ministry to the Continent for education. In the early days they availed of whatever accommodation was available and frequently associated with English and Scottish co-religionists. By the early 1590s a number of small houses, sheltering Irish students, were established and these increased in number in the early seventeenth century.

The Irish clergy credited with the foundation of the first group of colleges, were mostly Flanders-based and some were probably associated with the English college, founded by Cardinal William Allen (1532–94) in Douai in 1568.¹ It appears that in the late 1570s one John Lee left Spanish Flanders for Paris with a group of six students, probably on the occasion of the move of Allen's Douai college to Rheims due to local hostilities.² Lee's community was lodged at first in the rigorist Montaigu college and later in the college of Navarre, both long established institutions within the University.³ Jesuit influence on this community was strong but it never fell under their control. It was a different story in Lisbon, where an Irish college was set up in 1590, under Jesuit control. Philip II approved a college in Salamanca two

¹ Between 1575 and 1588 over a dozen Irish names appear in the records of the English College, Douai. See T.F. Knox ed., *The First and Second diaries of the English college, Douay* (London: 1878), passim.

² Helga Hammerstein, 'The continental education of Irish students' in *Historical Studies*, viii (1971), 145; anon., 'The Irish College, Paris' *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1st series, ii (1886), 180–85.

³ For the reference to an Irish community in the 1570s see Julien-Philippe de Gaulle, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris et de ses environs* (5 vols, Paris: 1839–42), iv, 237–8. For the general history of the college see Patrick Boyle, *The Irish college in Paris from 1578 to 1901* (London, Dublin and New York: 1901) 1–24.

years later, again under Jesuit control. A brace of foundations followed in Spanish Flanders after 1594 under Christopher Cusack (d. 1624), a Meath cleric with Jesuit connections. The Flanders colleges, Paris, Lisbon and Salamanca were associated with and supported by merchant families in the Irish port cities and Irish Jesuits connected with the colleges generally reflected their conservative, accommodationist political sentiments. It was less, perhaps, the Society's domination of these colleges than their exclusive representation of one political interest in Ireland that caused a sense of grievance among the Gaelic interests which were strongly represented among the Irish Franciscans. These were articulated by Florence Conry OFM (1560–1629) who, in 1603, complained of Jesuit-trained students of Salamanca

When they return to their own country they will let themselves be carried with the current, and thus do much more evil than if they had not suited at all, because they teach that it is permissible to obey the queen and to take arms against your Majesty [Philip III]; and those that do so they confess and absolve, and admit to Mass and the divine offices.⁴

Conry took a dim view of Irish clergy and laity whom he believed had compromised themselves with protestant state authorities by refusing to support the Ulster earls during the Nine Years War (1594–1603) against Elizabeth I. This set him at loggerheads with a range of loyalist interest groups in Ireland and among the Irish abroad, including the Jesuit management of the Irish colleges. These differences were exacerbated by the failure of Hugh O'Neill (c. 1565–1616), earl of Tyrone, to adapt to the new conditions of the post-war era in Ulster and his subsequent withdrawal to the Continent in 1607. Conry was O'Neill's main agent with the Spanish and was either unwilling or unable to dissociate the Franciscan mission in Ireland from O'Neill political ambitions.⁵

Concern with Jesuit domination in Spain, problems with the admission policy of the Cusack network in Flanders and a desire for an independent house to cater for his own network were among the factors impelling Florence Conry to consider founding a dedicated Franciscan

⁴ C.P. Meehan, *The fate and fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnel* (Dublin: 1886), 353.

⁵ For Conry's political career, see Benjamin Hazard, 'Political strategy in the service of religious and cultural modernisation: the public career of Florence Conry OFM, c. 1590–1629' (PhD, NUI Maynooth: 2008).

college in the Low Countries.⁶ There is evidence that this was in his mind from as early as 1601, when Philip III, in a letter to the Archduke Albert of Austria (1559–1621), mentioned that Conry was seeking aid for Irish students studying in Louvain.⁷ However, it was not until 1607 that Pope Paul V issued a bull of foundation, with the express purpose of training Franciscans to combat heresy in Ireland.⁸ The archduke's *placet* was bestowed in August,⁹ that of the archdiocese of Malines in 1609¹⁰ and, despite ongoing financial difficulties,¹¹ the college survived. The community varied in size from twenty to forty and relied on funds collected in Ireland, as well as royal and Flemish sources, local chaplaincy work and the Irish regiment, for sustenance. In 1628, Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, gave the college favourable mention in a letter to Luke Wadding, saying the community were 'prosperous, religious and truly mortified...but are deficient in polish and domestic economy as the management of the house at once makes apparent'.¹²

Conry envisaged the Louvain foundation as safeguarding theological orthodoxy and good pastoral practices on the Irish mission and, from 1618, with the foundation of the Louvain Scottish mission, to the Highlands and Western Isles. To help realise these goals he appointed Salamanca-trained Irish Franciscans to teach in Louvain. Thanks to the Spanish-trained faculty, Irish Franciscan novices in Louvain were introduced to a strict version of Augustine and versed in rigorist pastoral practices, particularly with regard to penance. Conry also cultivated links with the Augustinian tendency in Louvain university, especially that fostered by Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638).¹³ Further, under Conry, St Anthony's supported Louvain university's efforts to

⁶ See Nollaig Ó Muraíle ed., *Mícheal Ó Cléirigh, his associates and St Anthony's College, Louvain* (Dublin: 2008).

⁷ Brendan Jennings, *Louvain papers 1606–1827*, (Dublin: 1968), 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 4–7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Louvain papers*, 9–10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Louvain papers*, 20.

¹¹ In 1613 the college was in want. See Borghese to Bentivoglio, Rome, 24 Aug. 1613, (Archivio Segreto Vaticano [ASV], Nunziatura di Fiandra, 137a, ff 435v–436r cited in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xii (1969), 65.

¹² Walsh to Wadding, Antwerp, 1 Sept. 1628 (Franciscan Library Killiney [FLK, now UCD-OFM], MS DII, ff 12–3 cited in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts* [hereafter *HMC Franciscan*] (Dublin: 1906), 5–6).

¹³ Jean Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres (1585–1638)* (Paris: 1989), 111–115.

maintain its degree-granting monopoly against the Jesuits in 1624 and in 1626.¹⁴

The Irish Franciscan reputation for strict Augustinianism and aversion to Jesuit influence followed them to their later foundations in Prague and Rome. By the late 1620s, growth in student numbers and straitened financial circumstances obliged the Louvain Franciscans to consider setting up colleges elsewhere. Paris proved problematic but more successful overtures were made in Vienna, where Malachy Fallon OFM met Cardinal Arnošt Harrach (1598–1667), archbishop of Prague, who encouraged him to come to Bohemia.¹⁵ An Irish presence was established there in 1630, supported by Harrach and Colonel Walter Butler, an Irish officer in the Imperial service. Harrach was anxious to counter Jesuit influence at court and in the university of Prague. He used the Irish Franciscans, among others, as a counterweight to the Society. In 1635, following Saxon occupation of the city, he invited the Irish Franciscans to staff his new seminary. Malachy Fallon was appointed *professor primarius* there and before long came to the unsympathetic attention of the local Jesuits. In 1641, Rodrigo de Arriaga SJ (1592–1667), who lectured in Prague University, accused him of pro-Jansen sympathies. Similar accusations were made in the years following.¹⁶

Irish Franciscan success in Louvain and Prague coincided with the consolidation of their influence in Rome.¹⁷ Despite a relatively significant Irish presence there in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, no dedicated Irish college had been founded in the city.¹⁸ It fell to the Waterford-born Luke Wadding OFM to see to the provision of a permanent residence for Irish clerics in Rome. Early in 1625,

¹⁴ Léon Wuillaume, *Le de controversia janseniana historia du P. François de Cleyn, SJ [1645]*, (Rome: 2001), 29.

¹⁵ Jan Pařez, 'The Irish Franciscans in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Prague' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds) *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale 1602–1820* (Dublin: 2003), 104–117; Mícheál MacCraith and David Worthington, 'The literary activity of the Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1620–1786', *ibid.*, 118–134.

¹⁶ Pařez, 'Irish Franciscans in Prague', 107, note 15.

¹⁷ Thomas O'Connor, 'The Irish College, Rome in the age of religious renewal' in Irish College Staff (eds) *Irish College, Rome 1628–1678* (Rome: 2003), 13–32.

¹⁸ See Hugh Fenning, 'Irishmen ordained at Rome, 1572–1697' in *Archivium Hibernicum* (LIX, 2005), 1–36; Ignatius Fennessy, 'Patrick Roche of Kinsale and St Patrick's College, Rome' in *Journal of Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, c (1995), 91–104, 92; L.F. Rénéhan, *Collections on Irish church history*, ed. D. MacCarthy, (2 vols, Dublin: 1861–74), i, 25.

at the invitation of his superiors, he took charge of an unfinished Franciscan house, St Isidore's,¹⁹ on condition that it would operate as a house of studies and retreat for the Irish Franciscans.²⁰ He embarked on a long-term expansion of the complex, supported by, among many others, Ferdinand Henry de Ribera, duke of Alcalá, Cardinal de Trejo, Gomez de Sylva, duke of Pastrana and the Marquis Emanuel de Moura, Spanish ambassador to Urban VIII.²¹

As he consolidated the position of St Isidore's, an irresistible opportunity arose for Wadding to push home the Irish Franciscans advantage in Rome. In 1623, Urban VIII nominated Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi protector of Ireland, raising hopes of an Irish secular foundation in Rome.²² Ludovisi, however, either could not afford or did not desire to set up a separate Irish secular college. He adopted the expedient of providing an annual payment of 600 crowns from his property for the support of six Irish students who were to be housed in the English and Maronite colleges. Because of his close links to the Jesuits, he insisted that all his Irish scholars take their courses at the Jesuit *Collegio Romano*. Trouble, however, blew up between the Irish students and their English and Maronite hosts.²³ To remedy this situation, Wadding proposed to Ludovisi, perhaps not disinterestedly, that he rent a house near St Isidore's for the Irish students. The Franciscans, he promised, would undertake supervision and management of the new institution. Ludovisi agreed, under certain conditions, and a house was rented on Monte Pincio in late 1627. The first students arrived the following year,²⁴ prompting Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, to congratulate Wadding and hope for '*une santa emulati3n entre esse seminario y los que est3n a cargo de la Compa3a*'.²⁵

¹⁹ M. Gonçalves Da Costa ed., *Fontes inéditas Protuguesas para a história de Irlanda*, (Braga: 1981), 152.

²⁰ Gregory Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding and St Isidore's College, Rome*, (Rome: 1925), 160, 175–77.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 167–8.

²² Rothe to Lombard, 17 Sept. 1625 (UCD-OFM, MS D III, 421–3 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 80–2, 82).

²³ Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding*, 206.

²⁴ Six students were ready to return to the Irish mission in that year. See Eugene Callahan to Holy Office, Rome, before May 1628 (Archivio Congregazione per la dottrina della Fede [ACDF], Sanctum Officium [SO] Stanza Storica [St St] SS 1c, f. 791r).

²⁵ Thomas Walsh to Wadding, Madrid, 20 Feb. 1628 (UCD-OFM, MS D II, f. 3 cited in Brendan Jennings ed., *Wadding papers 1614–1638*, (Dublin: 1953), 257–8.

Ludovisi retained the authority to admit and dismiss students but it was Wadding who composed the college rule. The spiritual directors and confessors were drawn from St Isidore's and the students attended all their academic exercises there. At Wadding's request, Urban VIII granted a dispensation permitting college alumni to be ordained by a vicar of the pope in Rome without dimissorial letters from their superiors.²⁶ On the death of the first rector, the Killaloe secular, Eugene Callahan, Wadding appointed a Franciscan replacement, one Martin Walsh who was succeeded in turn by John Punch OFM.

Ludovisi's death in late 1632 changed everything. To Wadding's consternation, Ludovisi's will entrusted the government of the Irish secular college to the Jesuits. Given his personal investment in the college, Wadding contested the will but his case was damaged by student complaints²⁷ and Irish lay preference for the Jesuits.²⁸ Petitions to leave the college in the care of the Franciscans²⁹ and to return it to the seculars³⁰ failed to sway the Rota, which found in favour of the Jesuits. They took over the college in early 1635 and, for most of the seventeenth century, there was a rough alternation of Italian and Irish rectors. James Ford, the second Jesuit rector, consolidated Jesuit influence by relocating the college to a site nearer the *Collegio Romano* where the students attended class. The Jesuit take over of the Irish pastoral college in Rome confirmed Wadding's tendency to associate, in the 1630s, 1640s and 1650s, with anti-Jesuit interests and networks in Rome, Spain and Flanders.

Back in Ireland, from the 1610s, the Irish Franciscans and other regulars had organised their own quite sophisticated pastoral structures, which were none the less effective for falling outside episcopal supervision.³¹ The Franciscans in particular enjoyed great popular esteem

²⁶ This was despite the opposition of Irish bishops. See Archivio Propaganda Fide [APF], SORCG 14, ff 139rv, 142rv cited in *Coll. Hib.*, x (1967). They petitioned Urban VIII to restore the standard discipline (APF, SORCG 14, ff 147rv, 150rv cited in *Coll. Hib.*, x (1967), 24–5).

²⁷ APF, Lettere Antiche, vol. 14, ff 44–5 cited in *Arch. Hib.*, xii (1946), 186. Undated but probably post-1630.

²⁸ See Patrick J. Corish, 'The beginning of the Irish College, Rome' in Franciscan Fathers *Father Luke Wadding*, (Dublin: 1957), 284–94.

²⁹ APF, Lettere Antiche, vol. 294, f. 428 cited in *Arch. Hib.*, xii, (1946), 190.

³⁰ APF, Lettere Antiche, vol. 134, f. 58 cited in *Arch. Hib.*, xii (1946), 192–3.

³¹ For early problems between Franciscans and seculars over jurisdictional conflict, see Guido Bentivoglio, internuncio in Brussels to Cardinal Borghese, Brussels,

among the Irish laity, especially the noble elites of Ulster. This was thanks to their success in maintaining a pastoral presence over large parts of Ireland, even in time of persecution.³² As Archbishop Eugene Matthews of Dublin explained in 1623 '[the Franciscans] are especially to be commended, because they never suffered themselves to become extinct in the kingdom and were the only religious who maintained the fight in some districts.'³³ Further, the appointment of Franciscans to Irish sees (a frequent occurrence in the troubled 1570s and 1580s),³⁴ continued in the seventeenth century³⁵ with the nomination, among many others, of Thomas Fleming OFM to Dublin (1623), Patrick Comerford OSA to Waterford (1629) and Hugh Magennis OFM to Down and Connor (1630).³⁶ This gave the Franciscans considerable influence on the Irish episcopal bench.

The success of the Franciscans caused friction with the Irish secular clergy and with other religious orders. Indeed, as the seculars became better organised in the early seventeenth century, some bishops believed that faculties and privileges enjoyed by the regulars were not only compromising episcopal authority but also risked erecting an alternative ecclesiastical government in the kingdom. As early as 1609, a report had reached Rome that two Franciscan priests, who had recently arrived from Spain, had claimed permission from their General to confer the sacrament of confirmation, even in places where

20 Mar. 1610 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV], Barberini Latini, MS 6803, f. 65r); for an account of dispute between Irish Jesuits and Archbishop Matthews of Dublin, concerning indulgences [1616] see ACDF, SO St St SS, 1e, ff 679r–691v; *ibid.*, ff 816r–821v, for the Jesuit side; *ibid.*, f. 826r for Matthew's 26-folio response, 26 July 1617).

³² Bentivoglio to Rome, Brussels, 6 Apr. 1613 (Archivio Segreto Vaticano [ASV], Borghese, Series I, vol. 269, f. 85, reproduced in *Arch. Hib.*, iii (1914), 300–302); Thomas Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans 1536–1641* (Dublin: 1993), 40–93; Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400–1534* (Dublin: 2002), 130–57.

³³ Matthews to Propaganda Fide, 4 Feb. 1623 (P.F. Moran, *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*, (Dublin: 1864), 290).

³⁴ See Enrique García Hernán, 'Obispos irlandeses y la monarquía hispánica en el siglo xvi' in M.B. Villar García and P. Pezzi Cristóbal (eds) *Los extranjeros en la España moderna* (2 vols, Málaga: 2003), ii, 275–80.

³⁵ For a comparison with France, see Joseph Bergin, 'Regulars as bishops: the French church from the Concordat of Bologna (1516) to the Revolution' in Howard B. Clarke and J.R.S. Phillips (eds), *Ireland, England and the Continent in the middle ages and beyond* (Dublin: 2006) 254–71.

³⁶ D.F. Cregan, 'The social and cultural background of a counter-reformation episcopate, 1618–60' in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds) *Studies in Irish History presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin: 1979), 112.

there were bishops.³⁷ Further, educational standards among the friars, particularly among those formed domestically, were sometimes low. The Brussels internuncio Bentivoglio reported to Rome in 1613, 'One would hope for more refinement and better doctrine but many of them were ordained in Ireland and consequently lack qualities necessary to the priestly ministry'.³⁸ In 1633 a hostile observer estimated that in the city of Dublin scarcely five per cent of the faithful made their Easter communion in their parish churches, so strong was the public attachment to the regular clergy.³⁹ In 1640 the Munster bishops complained to *Propaganda fide* about the regulars, pointing out that they were celebrating several Masses a day in their oratories, taking advantage of a privilege not enjoyed by the seculars.⁴⁰

Irish reservations concerning the activities of the Franciscans echoed the disquiet of Continental seculars regarding the role of the regulars in general. In France and Flanders, the Bérulle-influenced Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbé de Saint-Cyran and his correspondent, Cornelius Jansen, were among the most active champions of the secular clergy.⁴¹ Philip Rovenius (d. 1651) vicar apostolic of Holland had broils with the Jesuits, who enjoyed the support of Francesco Albizzi, assessor at the Holy Office.⁴² Rovenius's *Tractatus de missionibus*, a defence of the rights of the vicars apostolic, was published in Louvain in 1624 but its distribution was forbidden by the Brussels nuncio following interventions by the regulars. The hapless Bishop Richard Smith (1568–1655) bishop of Chalcedon and vicar apostolic of England, had similar

³⁷ Borghese to Bentivoglio, Rome, 26 Sept. 1609 (ASV, Nun. di Fiandra 137a, f. 31rv cited in *Coll. Hib.*, xii (1969), 62); same to same, Rome, 30 Jan. 1610 (ASV, Nun. di Fiandra, 137a, f. 77v).

³⁸ 'in molti... se potrebbe desiderar maggior habilità e dottrina essendo stati conferiti gl'ordini sacri dentro d'Irlanda ad alcuni di loro, che non havevano quelle parti, che al ministerio sacerdotale sono necessarie'. (Bentivoglio to Rome, Brussels, 6 Apr. 1613, ASV, Borghese Collection, Series I., vol. 269, f. 85 cited in *Arch. Hib.*, iii (1914), 301).

³⁹ Paul Harris, *Arktomastix* (Dublin: 1633), 94.

⁴⁰ Walsh and suffragens to Propaganda Fide, 10 Jan. 1640 (APF, SORCG 142, ff 316r–317v cited in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), 58).

⁴¹ J. Orcibal, *Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbé de St-Cyran et son temps* (Louvain-Paris: 1947), 334–75.

⁴² Lucien Ceyssens, *Le cardinal François Albizzi (1593–1684)* (Rome: 1977), 99; Wilfrid Brulez, *Correspondance du nonce Richardi Pauli Stravius 1634–42* (Turnhout: 1955), xxxv.

troubles, clashing with the Jesuits over jurisdictional issues.⁴³ Troubles raged in the universities too, in Louvain, Paris and Salamanca, over the conferring of third level status on Jesuit colleges.⁴⁴ These disputes had their echo in the evolving Irish colleges system. In Santiago, the Jesuits assumed control of the Irish college in 1613 in the face of criticism by Irish seculars and their lay supporters. On the death of the Killaloe secular Eugene Callahan, the first rector of the Irish pastoral college in Rome, Luke Wadding controversially appointed a Franciscan to replace him. The college fell under Jesuit control soon afterwards. In 1639 Richard Stravius (b. 1584) the internuncio in Brussels, reported to Antonio Barberini that Irish Franciscans were interfering in the Irish pastoral college in Louvain; he claimed that their activities were part of a general strategy to undermine the secular clergy.⁴⁵

These secular fears were exacerbated in the first half of the seventeenth century by the growth in clerical numbers, especially among the Franciscans.⁴⁶ Although it is impossible to establish accurate statistics, the Brussels internuncio Guido Bentivoglio reported in 1613 that there were 800 seculars in Ireland, 130 Franciscans, twenty Jesuits and a few other regulars. In 1623 Archbishop Eugene Matthews reported that there were 200 Franciscans in the country.⁴⁷ In 1639 a Franciscan source reported that the Irish province was 574 friars strong.⁴⁸ Growth was especially evident in the towns. In Kilkenny, for instance, in 1622

⁴³ A.F. Allison, 'Richard Smith's Gallican backers and Jesuit opponents' in *Recusant History*, xviii, 4 (1987), 329–401.

⁴⁴ See Léon van der Essen, 'Les tribulations de l'université de Louvain' in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 2e fascicule (1922), 61–86, esp. 72–3; F. Camerlynckx, 'L'université de Louvain depuis le dernier quart du xvi siècle' in *L'Université de Louvain à travers cinq siècles* (Louvain: 1927), 36; Bruno Boute, *Academic interests and catholic confessionalisation in the archducal Netherlands (1598–1621)* (Louvain: 2003), 325–334.

⁴⁵ Stravius to Antonio Barberini, Brussels, 15 Jan. 1639 (APF, Lettere Antiche, vol. 138, f. 76 cited in *Arch. Hib.*, xiv (1949), 36).

⁴⁶ *Arch. Hib.*, xii (1946), 99.

⁴⁷ Matthews to Propaganda Fide, 4 Feb., 1623 (Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, 290).

⁴⁸ See Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans 1651–1655* (Rome: 1964), 96. This included Irish Franciscans resident abroad. Carlo Francisco Invernizzi's estimate of 1000 Irish Franciscans in 1645 is probably exaggerated. See 'Rerum Hibernicarum ab initio postermi belli gestarum et praesentis status epitome...' [1645] (BAV, Barberini Latini, MS 2242 cited in *Arch. Hib.*, vi (1917), 96–129, 123); Thomas MacKiernan, in a letter to Rinuccini in late 1649 put the number of Franciscans in Ireland at about 400 (*Com. Rin.*, iii, 560).

there was a community of eight Dominicans under Thomas Quirke.⁴⁹ Nicholas Shee, the Franciscan provincial, had a 'convent, colledge, a novitiate, with frequent hospitality for all passengers of their order'.⁵⁰ Six years later there were about thirty regulars living in the city, 'through God's providence and the indulgence and connivance of the Viceroy'.⁵¹ In Dublin, in the early 1630s, government intelligence reported that there were at least thirty-four and possibly as many as eighty-one regulars active in the city.⁵²

In the early 1620s disquiet was expressed not only at the growth in clerical numbers but also at the increased visibility of the clergy. It was reported to Rome that 'wherefore the Catholic nobility of the kingdom are so offended that it is not expedient that greater liberty be granted to the clergy and especially the regulars, until they be reduced to better order and discipline'.⁵³ John Roche, future bishop of Ferns, wrote of the Irish Cistercians in 1625 'who have filled the island with individuals who are monks in name only'.⁵⁴ Paul Harris, a Dublin-based secular of English birth who was extremely hostile to the regulars, took increasing regular influence particularly to heart. He accused them of entering into direct competition with the seculars by recruiting the second sons of nobles, farmers and merchants and even apprentices. According to Harris, a Dublin merchant had complained that 'scarce could they have an apprentice to serve out the halfe of his years before he had a vocation to be a fryar'.⁵⁵ He lamented the consequent social inversion, demurring that even horse-boys have become 'reverend fathers' without education or discipline 'as many brought portions and means and quite mastered their masters.' The friars had become so plentiful and were allegedly so aggressive in questing that the faithful had begun to skip Mass in order to avoid their importu-

⁴⁹ Hugh Fenning, *The Black Abbey 1225–1986* (Kilkenny: 1986), 18.

⁵⁰ *Wadding Papers*, 447.

⁵¹ David Rothe to Richard Smith, 6 Dec. 1628 (*Catholic Record Society: Misellanea xii* (London: 1921), 166.

⁵² Tim O'Connor, 'Wentworth and Dublin's Catholic Clergy, 1633' in *Arch. Hib.*, lix (2005), 47–50.

⁵³ 'Memorandum' addressed to the Congregation of Regulars, via Luke Wadding, Rome, 28 Apr. 1623 (UCD-OFM, MS DIII, 329 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 74).

⁵⁴ 'qui insulam repleverunt hominibus nihil nisi monachi nomen habentibus...'. See John Roche, 'Brevis relatio de Hibernia...' [1625] (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2410, reproduced in *Arch. Hib.*, xxii (1959), 150).

⁵⁵ Paul Harris, *The excommunication*, (Dublin: 1633), 41.

nate entreaties.⁵⁶ By force of numbers, Harris charged in 1634, they were to be found arranging mortgages and rent charges, contracts and matrimonial cases and managing widows' affairs.⁵⁷ Harris jeered that 'as dexterous as they be in bringing home the strayed sheep, so no lesse diligent are they in seeking the lost groat'.⁵⁸ In 1627, Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel and one time friend of the regulars,⁵⁹ declared himself appalled by the conduct of Irish friars in Madrid where there were 'so many bad friars from our country that I have not courage to hold up my head to a soul'.⁶⁰ Later his attitude to the regulars grew ever more acerbic. By 1629 Thomas Strong OFM sensed that Walsh was becoming an enemy.⁶¹

Some of Walsh's and Harris's misgivings about the regulars were echoed by the Dublin government. In 1634, Dublin authorities recommended that Archbishop Thomas Fleming, a Franciscan, be commanded

to restraine the exorbitant begging of his fryars, and their numerous increase which is now growne grevous to their owne syde, and to put in practise that power which is given to every ordinary by the bull of the present Pope dated Sept 12 1628. As allso to exclude those orders altogether which are crept into this kingdome now of late and had no former admittance which by the canons he may doe.⁶²

As clerical numbers increased so too did pressure on the slender ecclesiastical resources that supported them. This was one factor fuelling regular claims for the restitution of confiscated monastic property, especially that held by Catholics or converts to Catholicism. In general, the regulars, unlike many of their secular brethren, were reluctant to accept as definitive either the confirmation of the confiscations by the Marian parliament or Cardinal Reginald Pole's legatine dispensation to lay owners of church property.⁶³ The Irish Cistercians, whose

⁵⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁵⁷ Paul Harris, *Fratres* (Dublin: 1634), 13–14.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 42.

⁵⁹ Strong to Wadding, 4 Aug. 1629 (UCD-OFM, MS DII, ff 78–80 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 11–14, 12).

⁶⁰ Walsh to Wadding, Madrid, 14 Mar. 1627 (UCD-OFM, MS DIII, 811–2 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 101–3, 102).

⁶¹ Strong to Wadding, Dublin, 15 Mar. 1629 (UCD-OFM, MS DII, f. 52 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 9–10).

⁶² Tim O'Connor, 'Wentworth and Dublin's Catholic Clergy, 1633', 46.

⁶³ 'An answer to question concerning the regulars in Ireland [1623] (APF, lettere antiche, vol. 294, ff 128–8). See *Arch. Hib.*, xii (1946), 99–103. 'Respondent monachi concessionem illam cardinalis legati tantummodo de Anglia loqui et factum esse ipso

pre-reformation properties had been extensive had the most to gain by repossession, especially in wealthier dioceses like Meath.⁶⁴ To complicate matters further, many of the contested properties had originally been inappropriate and included the right of nomination to clerical livings. Hence pressing claims to formerly inappropriate properties inevitably entailed encroachment by regulars into parishes, a development vehemently opposed by the seculars. In Leighlin in 1629, Matthew Roche, the vicar apostolic and a man not noted for his tact, prohibited 'the most insolent seditious and over-scandalous encroachment of Sir Luke Archer, the assuming abbot [of Holy Cross], and his licentious retinue on this jurisdiction and diocese'.⁶⁵ In 1631 there was trouble in Connacht over the Cistercians' claims to appoint parish priests.⁶⁶ Bishop Thomas Dease of Meath's broils with the local Cistercians were legendary.⁶⁷ In the northern province, Cistercian claims to livings formerly inappropriate to the abbeys of Mellifont and Newry proved a constant headache to both Archbishop Hugh O'Reilly of Armagh and Bishop Hugh Magennis of Down and Connor.⁶⁸ In Cork, Bishop Tirrey complained to Urban VIII about the reportedly undisciplined Cistercian monk, John Regan, who acted, he alleged, like an abbot, exercising jurisdiction.⁶⁹

Newer religious orders like the Jesuits, with no historic property, also laid claim to confiscated assets on other than historical grounds.⁷⁰

clero Angliae pro communi pace id postulante. De Hibernia autem nullum in ea verbum haberi.' (101).

⁶⁴ Robert Nugent's 1648 petition to Innocent X asked for the restoration of twenty-one benefices attached to historic foundations. See Brendan Jennings, 'Ecclesiastical Appointments in Ireland, Aug. 1643–Dec. 1649' in *Coll. Hib.*, ii (1959), 18–65, 64–5. For an account, see Colmcille Ó Conbhuidhe OCSO, *Studies in Irish Cistercian History*, ed. Finbarr Donovan (Dublin: 1998), 153–72, 198–235.

⁶⁵ Proclamation of Matthew Roche, 12 Mar. 1629 (UCD-OFM, MS DII, f. 50 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 9).

⁶⁶ 'Petition against the Cistericans' (APF, SORCG 294, ff 281rv, 284rv cited in *Coll. Hib.*, viii (1965), 27).

⁶⁷ Gerard Rice, 'Thomas Dease, bishop of Meath and some questions concerned with the rights to ecclesiastical property alienated at the Reformation' in *Ríocht na Midhe*, vi, 1, (1975), 69–89.

⁶⁸ By papal rescript a diocesan priest, Randal MacDonnell, was named commendary abbot of Newry. See O'Reilly to Ingoli, 31 Dec. 1638 (APF, SORCG 138, ff 195r–196v cited in *Coll. Hib.*, xii (1969), 37. Magennis had earlier recommended MacDonnell (APF, SORCG 106, ff 45r–46v cited in *Coll. Hib.*, x (1967), 57).

⁶⁹ APF, SORCG 140, ff 219rv, 228rv cited in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), 41.

⁷⁰ See Fitzsimon to Aquaviva, 25 Nov. 1598 (Edmund Ignatius Hogan, ed., *Ibernia Ignatiana*, (Dublin: 1880) 43–4).

The issue of property also had repercussions for mendicants like the Franciscans, somewhat alleviated by the more modest extent of their historical holdings and by the fact that, in some instances, the Franciscans had managed to pre-empt the confiscations by vesting their assets in lay hands.⁷¹ In 1616, for instance, Donagh Mooney, then minister provincial of the Franciscans, visited Dundalk and gave John Brandon, a local layman, permission to retain Franciscan property under certain conditions.⁷² Contemporary documentation suggests that this was more than an occasional practice.⁷³ Where property issues were absent, other bones of contention between regulars and seculars were found. In Drogheda, in 1623, two Franciscans, Michael Moore and Joseph Everard⁷⁴ entered into a bitter jurisdictional dispute with the local parish priest Balthazar Delahoide.⁷⁵ In Dublin the government's closure of their chapel in 1629⁷⁶ left the local Franciscans homeless and disorganised;⁷⁷ their subsequent efforts to set up new houses and ministries alarmed the bishops.⁷⁸ In Tuam Archbishop O'Queely had problems with Oliver Bourke OP, vicar apostolic of Kilmacduagh and resident in Rome who, he said, claimed authority over a number of parish churches.⁷⁹ In Cork in 1639 Bishop Tirrey clashed with the

⁷¹ For the Limerick Franciscans, see Colm Lennon, *Archbishop Richard Creagh of Armagh 1523–86* (Dublin: 2000), 37.

⁷² Harold O'Sullivan, 'The Franciscans in Dundalk' in *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, iv, 1 (1960–1), 33–70, 44–5.

⁷³ 'Memorial', 1626 (UCD-OFM, MS DIII, 793–4 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 100.

⁷⁴ The Franciscans were popular with the local citizenry. See 'Citizens of Drogheda to Propaganda', 27 May 1623 (APF, SORCG 102, f. 150rv cited in *Coll. Hib.*, x (1967), 50–1).

⁷⁵ Paul Harris, *The excommunication published* (Dublin: 1633), 19. On the Drogheda dispute see Brian Jackson, 'Sectarianism: division and dissent in Irish Catholicism' in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds) *The Origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge: 2006), 203–15.

⁷⁶ —to—, Dublin, 14 Jan. 1630, (UCD-OFM, MS D II, ff 26–7 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 17–18). Opinion was divided on whether the closure was designed to curb the regular clergy or foment trouble and oblige the citizens to accept a garrison. Ibid. See Raymond Gillespie, 'Catholic Religious cultures, 1614–97' in James Kelly and Daire Keogh (eds) *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin: 2000), 127–43, esp. 129–30.

⁷⁷ See *Wadding papers*, 330–1, 333, 337, 341, 353; Benignus Millett, 'Irish Franciscans and education' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, xviii, 2 (2001), 27.

⁷⁸ Thomas Strong to Wadding, Waterford, 26 Nov. 1630 (UCD-OFM, MS DII, f. 213 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 33–4).

⁷⁹ O'Queely to Ludovisi, 1 Nov. 1630 (UCD-OFM, MS DII, f. 193 cited in *HMC Franciscan*, 32).

Cistercians⁸⁰ and the Dominicans.⁸¹ Patrick Comerford of Waterford, writing to *Propaganda fide* in 1636, remarked how certain Catholic laity, on the instruction of 'viri docti' (learned men) were depriving long-established clergy of their cures and handing them over, on questionable authority, to newly arrived priests.⁸²

The exercise of the pastoral ministry emerged as another battleground between the two orders of the clergy, the celebration of obsequies proving a habitual occasion for acrimony. Bishop Tirrey of Cork estimated that most of the controversy between regulars and seculars had to do with sepulchre and offices for the dead.⁸³ In 1627, on the occasion of the death of the wealthy Dublin merchant Thomas Plunkett, a row erupted between the seculars and the local Franciscans over the right to preside at the obsequies. This led to a protracted dispute between a group of seculars, associated with the Irish college in Paris, and the local Franciscans, supported by the Franciscan archbishop, Thomas Fleming. In Kilkenny there were clashes too at various 'menstruall commemorations' (month's minds) in the early 1630s⁸⁴ and in Limerick, the funeral of Francis Rollin, according to one of Harris's reports, was the occasion of an embarrassing row, between seculars and regulars over custody of the corpse.⁸⁵ In Munster Bishop Tirrey consistently refused to cede precedence in funeral processions to regulars, thereby withdrawing concessions granted by his predecessors, the vicars James and Robert Miagh.⁸⁶

There was also a difficulty concerning funeral dues. Prior to the Reformation, in cases where the deceased were interred in the graveyards attached to religious houses, the regular clergy had customarily received the offerings of the faithful but had paid a part (*quarta funeralis*) to the seculars.⁸⁷ On the authority of pre-Reformation dispensa-

⁸⁰ 'Acta sacrae congregationis de propaganda fide' [16 June 1636], ff 101v, 102, no. 44 cited in *Arch. Hib.*, xxii (1959), 99–100.

⁸¹ Tirrey to Barberini, 29 July 1639 (APF, SORCG 139, ff 315rv, 321rv cited in *Coll. Hib.*, xii (1969), 44).

⁸² Comerford's comments to Propaganda Fide, 20 Jan. 1636 (APF, SORCG 140, ff 44r–45v) cited in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), 26).

⁸³ APF, SORCG 294, ff 380rv, 387rv cited in *Coll. Hib.*, viii (1965), 32.

⁸⁴ *Wadding papers*, 446–50.

⁸⁵ Paul Harris, *The excommunication published...* (Dublin: 1633), 94.

⁸⁶ William Lombard (William Farrily OFM) to Hugh de Burgo, 15 Feb. 1629, (*Wadding papers*, 341–2).

⁸⁷ On the *quarta funeralis* see Hogan, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 87–9; Anthony Cogan, *Diocese of Meath* (3 vols, Dublin: 1862–70), ii, 25; Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, 372ff.

tions, some regulars claimed exemptions from the *quarta* and retained all the offerings. Following the occupation of ecclesiastical buildings by the Church of Ireland, funeral ceremonies frequently took place in the residences of the deceased. When regulars presided it was not uncommon for the house to be declared temporarily an oratory and hence exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.⁸⁸ Tirrey and his Munster episcopal colleagues decided to legislate on this question and on the issue of the *quarta*. They revised the discipline covering funeral dues,⁸⁹ disputing the regulars' exemptions from paying the *quarta* and declaring the nomination of exempt houses illegal. Further, they tightened up regulations concerning the fulfilment of the laity's Easter duties. Writing in 1630 O'Mahony, the guardian of St Anthony's, Louvain, complained about the ruling of a recent synod 'following whose example certain individuals instruct the faithful that they must make their Easter confession to their parish priest or contravene church precept'.⁹⁰

Questing was another aspect of the pastoral ministry that contributed to the friction between secular and regular clergy.⁹¹ Particular forms of seeking alms, though not the principle were explicitly called into question especially as regulations in Munster became stricter in the late 1620s and early 1630s.⁹² In general the friars were accused of taking unfair advantage of the fact that it was regarded a 'dishonour' in Ireland not to be thought kind-hearted.⁹³ According to the hostile Paul Harris, the regulars seriously abused their questing privileges. He claimed that it was customary for friars to turn up at Sunday Masses, on Holy Days or at funerals to quest, usually before the ceremony began. Bolder friars, he alleged, were wont to occupy the very sanctuary during Mass, browbeating uncooperative seculars with threats of

⁸⁸ Comerford's comments to *Propaganda Fide*, 20 Jan. 1636 (APF, SORCG 140, ff 43rv, 46r).

⁸⁹ See for instance, 'Aliquot status facta a Guliellmo Tirreo episcopo Corcagiensi' [1630s?] (*Wadding papers*, 451–2).

⁹⁰ 'cuius vestigiis alii insistentes publice et privatim fidelibus persuadere non cessant debere eos in Paschate Parochis confiteri alioquin non satis facturos ecclesiae praecepto.' See O'Mahony, *Examen juridicum*, 129.

⁹¹ For a hostile account see Paul Harris, *The excommunication* (Dublin: 1633), addendum, 55ff entitled 'Of the shameful avarice and scandalous begging of our fryars mendicent especially in the kingdom of Ireland'. For a friendly account of the friars' case see 'Report to the nuncio at Brussels, 22 Aug. 1630' in *Wadding papers*, 393–404.

⁹² For instance see Owen Field OFM to Wadding, Cork, 10 Apr. 1630 (*Wadding papers*, 357–60).

⁹³ Harris, *The Excommunication*, 58.

excommunication.⁹⁴ On other occasions the friars, he claimed, quested after the religious ceremony. To this end they frequently locked the doors of the gentleman's hall, in which the religious ceremony was being held, cajoling or cursing the congregation according as alms ebbed or flowed. There was sometimes, he alleged, a sinister superstitious undercurrent to the proceedings. In Meath, for instance, a friar allegedly said that he would recall the grace won in the Mass if the people were not sufficiently bighearted.⁹⁵ Some friars interpreted the mishaps of merchants' ships as God's vengeance on them for their lack of generosity and frequently used portents and prophecies to worry the people into giving.⁹⁶ According to Harris, the present excesses of the friars were as bad as in the time of Henry VIII when clerical and lay abuse led to the expulsion of the regulars.⁹⁷

Propaganda fide made several attempts to bring order to the chaos of Irish secular-regular relations.⁹⁸ Measures were taken on the basis of reports supplied by the Irish hierarchy but also from a variety of other sources, notably the secular clergy and their Roman agents.⁹⁹ From 1631, reflecting the worsening situation in Ireland, the first of a series of special sub-committees of the congregation was convened to discuss Irish affairs.¹⁰⁰ By 1633 the persistent problems in Ireland led to the establishment of a dedicated Irish committee within *Propaganda*, chaired by Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the cardinal protector of Ireland,¹⁰¹ with Francesco Albizzi acting as secretary. By the end of the year, the particular congregation had drafted a body of decrees, which were approved by the pope. Sections of these decrees were referred for comment in 1634-5 to the Irish bishops and to their agents in Rome. The episcopal response to the decrees was less than overwhelming, in part because the metropolitans to whom the decrees were addressed in the first place were less than enamoured of the changes and were reluctant to distribute them to their suffragans. The section of the decrees

⁹⁴ Ibid., 61. Harris claims that this had actually occurred recently in Kildare diocese.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 59.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 63-4.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 61.

⁹⁸ Brendan Jennings ed., 'Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide' in *Arch. Hib.*, xxii (1959), 28-139.

⁹⁹ Michael Olden ed. 'Episcopal comments on the "Decreta pro recto regimine ecclesiarum Hiberniae"' in *Arch. Hib.*, xxvii (1964), 1-12.

¹⁰⁰ Olden, 'Episcopal comments', 2, citing APF, Acta, 7, f. 1v.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., citing APF, Acta, 8, f. 195r.

dealing with the regulars was largely favourable to increased episcopal jurisdiction over the religious orders, specifically with regard to the provision of pastoral services. It was ruled that even when the regulars had their mission directly from Rome and their faculties from the Holy Office, these privileges were to be exercised without prejudice to the rights of the bishop and the parish clergy. On the question of the *ius sepulturae*, the special congregation took the part of the secular clergy, but only to the extent of issuing general guidelines supporting secular precedence.¹⁰²

Although Propaganda did rule on the thorny issues dividing the Irish seculars and regulars largely in the bishops' favour, disputes continued and in some cases worsened. The disputes of the 1620s and 1630s hardened divisions between and within the ranks of the Irish clergy. As the regulars continued to assert their privileges and maintained their claims to confiscated property as a threat, the bishops, especially seculars, were galvanised in their resolve to establish a functioning church infrastructure with as little input as possible from the regular clergy, the Jesuits and the Capuchins excepted. The continuing secular-regular rows marked a significant phase in drawing the Irish church decisively into the ecclesiastical politics on the Continent. They also helped cement the Franciscans as a powerful interest group in the increasingly complex Irish Catholic Church.

¹⁰² APF, SOCG 14, f. 190r (19 Jan. 1635); *ibid.*, f. 191r (12 May 1635).

THE ENGLISH CONVENTS IN EXILE AND QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY C. 1600–1688

Caroline Bowden

Introduction

The foundation of the Benedictine convent in Brussels by Mary Percy in 1598 ‘to receive the daughters of the gentry and nobility of England’ marked the beginning of a significant foundation movement in exile creating religious institutions specifically for English women.¹ From the outset, the nuns demonstrated their awareness of the importance of the national identity of their institutions and their sense of a mission to preserve English Catholicism. By 1678, twenty-one enclosed English convents had been founded as well as the Mary Ward Institute, the Sisters of which lived unenclosed.² In addition to the new foundations, the Bridgettines had stayed together after the dissolution of the monasteries finally settling in Lisbon in 1594. Although the foundations remained self consciously English over the next two hundred years, exceptionally they admitted women of other nationalities as members.³ A study of the origin of the members of the English convents in

¹ M.J. Rumsey ed., Abbess Neville’s Annals of Five Communities of English Benedictine Nuns in Flanders 1598–1687, (Misc. V, Vol. 6: *Catholic Record Society*, 1909), 14.

² Mary Ward was unable to gain official recognition of her institute by the Papacy: as a result definitions of the status of the organisation in the seventeenth century are complex. In spite of lack of official approval, women continued to join her and they lived a religious life as lay women while carrying out mainly educational work in the schools they established. They were called a variety of names by supporters and opponents, among them the English Ladies, Mary Ward Sisters, Jesuitesses, and Galloping Girls: see Mary Wright, *Mary Ward’s Institute: the Struggle for Identity*, (Sydney: 1997).

³ This paper draws on research over several years in many of the surviving conventual archives now in England. My thanks are due to the interest and kindness of the archivists and superiors who have allowed me to share the contents of their archives and libraries and given guidance along the way. Many historians of English women religious owe much to the scholarship and generosity of Sister Gregory Kirkus of the Bar Convent, York who died in September 2007. This chapter is dedicated to her memory. I am grateful to Dr Carmen Mangion for her perceptive comments on earlier drafts.

the seventeenth century shows that there were a few members from Ireland, Wales and Scotland at that time alongside the English names. Moreover, when the English Benedictine convent at Ypres was unable to attract sufficient English recruits after its foundation in 1665, the senior members agreed it should be handed over as an Irish house from 1682. This paper will explore the reasons why it was thought essential to establish separate English convents on the continent and consider questions of national identity arising out of this process.⁴

Questions relating to the identity of religious institutions in exile are complex and multi-faceted. Created initially through foundational texts arising out of the intentions of the founders, the identities of the convents were subject to competing influences which might modify those original identities. The religious identity of the convent decided by the founders governed the spirituality, for instance, whether Benedictine, Augustinian, Carmelite or Franciscan. Within the order, each convent established its own particular identity, seen in the constitutions drawn up for each house in English specifying in detail how the religious life was to be lived and the structure of convent governance.⁵ The English convents had to specify from the start the ethnic origin of their members if they were to fulfil their founders' intended purpose of creating an English institution in exile as well as meeting the requirements of those local authorities granting permission. Insisting on English practices throughout the highly structured daily life of the convent could reinforce this. However, inevitably, at the same time, some external local influences, such as languages and building styles, were assimilated into conventual culture. Outside the convent walls, senior members of the convents operated in what often became complex interlocking networks of contacts which crossed national and local boundaries, while continuing to maintain and emphasise their English identities and leading exemplary religious lives within

⁴ For further discussion on English identity and Catholicism see; and Christopher Highley, "The Lost British Lamb": English Catholic Exiles and the Problem of Britain", in David J. Baker and Willy Maley eds., *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: 2002), 37–50. National identity in the male colleges in this period is discussed by Mark Netzloff in "The English Colleges and the English Nation: Allen, Persons, Verstegan, and Diasporic Nationalism", in Ronald Corthell, et al. eds., *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: 2007), 236–260.

⁵ See, for instance, *The Declarations and Ordinances made upon the Rule of Our Holy Mother St Clare*, trans. Elizabeth Evelinge (1622). *Vive Jesus, The Rule of St Austin*, (1628). *St Austin's Rule together with the Constitutions* (Paris: 1636). *The Rule of the Most Blissid Father Saint Benedict: Statutes...*, trans. Alexia Gray (Gant: 1632).

the walls of the enclosure. Over a period of time, the culture of the convents including the interpretation of 'Englishness' was modified by such interactions, an effect visible, for example, in the language of some conventual texts, the decoration of their buildings and their choice of artists and craftsmen.

Collective identity, nations and conventual texts

As with all monastic institutions, the English convents founded in exile had a strong sense of communal identity: by entering a convent a candidate for profession was agreeing to subject herself to the discipline of the rule and the constitutions of a particular convent without question. The shared perspective was openly acknowledged in some constitutions where the nuns were commanded to have one heart and one soul: the Poor Clares were to remember 'that for the love of God they have renounced their own wills'.⁶ Marie-Louise Coolahan has used close analysis of texts from the Poor Clares to discuss questions of identity as well as authorship and agency in the seventeenth century. The manuscripts generated by the convents were for their own use, but she has shown how the decision by the Aire convent of Poor Clares to print a translation of the life of St Claire (one of their key texts) from the French in 1635 moved the discussion of collective national identity outside the walls of the convent to a wider readership. In the dedication, the nuns prayed that King Charles I and his heirs might have long reigns. By printing the work, Coolahan argues, the nuns were manipulating a programme of print culture for political ends and reinforcing at the same time a sense of Englishness.⁷

An understanding of the importance of the use of the vernacular in conventual texts and separate convents for different nations can also be seen in decisions made by Irish Poor Clares in the first half of the seventeenth century. Although six Irish women were professed at Gravelines and Dunkirk from 1620–9, rather than remain in the English convents, they decided in 1629 that conditions in Ireland were

⁶ *Rule of the Holy Virgin S. Clare*, (St Omer: 1621), 64.

⁷ Marie-Louise Coolahan, "Identity politics and nuns' writing", paper given to the Perdita Conference, St Hilda's College, Oxford, July 2005: published under the same title in *Women's Writing*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (August 2007), 306–320.

conducive to a return home.⁸ They established a mother-house near Athlone which led to several offshoots. Before they were driven out of Ireland by Cromwell in 1653, they arranged for the translation of their *Rule* and *Declarations and Ordinances* from English into Irish: a clear indication of the appreciation of the significance of the choice of language in the conduct of the religious life for women and a sense of collective identity which in the case of the Irish, Coolahan argues, was particularly fraught. After leaving Ireland, the Poor Clares settled mainly in Spanish convents and were not able to establish Irish convents of their own order in exile. At least the Irish texts were used in an Irish house once they were able to re-establish themselves in Galway in 1672.⁹ In the same way, the English nuns translated, copied and compiled texts in English for communal and private reading. The number of surviving texts is indicative of the recognition by the convents of the importance of creating appropriate material in the vernacular which served a religious purpose while underlining the identity of these institutions in exile.¹⁰

Foundations

By 1590, only the Bridgettines from Syon Abbey, just outside London, had managed to stay together from the pre-reformation period. A group of them had first gone into exile in 1539, returned to England under Mary and, following the passage of the religious legislation of 1558–9, left England a second time to seek a new home in Flanders.¹¹ However, after many moves and some dangerous situations they abandoned that attempt, moving first to Rouen and, when civil war threatened their security, finally in 1594 settling in Lisbon, then ruled by Philip II of Spain. Their experience (graphically described in a document they familiarly called ‘their travels’) indicates the difficulties of the whole attempt at establishing religious institutions in exile, particularly in an area like Flanders, suffering from wars, rebellions,

⁸ MS, Fragment of contemporary annals formerly at Clare Abbey, Darlington, unnumbered and un-catalogued, f 30.

⁹ Marie-Louise Coolahan, *ibid.* particularly 311–316.

¹⁰ See the discussion below.

¹¹ *Poor Soul's Friend*, Syon Abbey, Vol. XIII, No. 6, 1905; Introduction, 143. The series gives extracts from a Syon manuscript headed ‘The Wanderings of Syon’ ed. Dom Adam Hamilton.

economic instability, and linguistic complexity. The memory of those troubled years was kept alive for future generations in a series of copies of the main document that could be read aloud in the community.¹² Such memories added weight to the determination to keep monasticism for English women alive.

Before the foundation of English convents, a number of English women had joined foreign houses. Among them a concentration of twenty-six were professed at the Flemish convent of St Ursula's in Louvain between 1592 and 1606 where Margaret Clement, one of only two English members at the time had been elected Prioress in 1569. It had been a tight election and among the objections to her candidacy was: 'the difference of her nation being an English woman, and they Dutch'.¹³ However Margaret Clement was a Prioress who provided strong leadership as well as connections to the More family and martyrdom. There is no evidence of a similar high concentration of English women in any other convent in this period apart from the Poor Clares at St Omer where there were around eight English nuns when Mary Ward became a postulant there in 1607. Guilday, writing in 1914, discussed the question of nationality in the convents in Flanders. He commented on what he viewed as 'questions of national character, customs, language and aspirations [that] were certainly a disturbing element in the peace of the Convents where there were nuns of more than one nation'; suggesting that it was more difficult to manage convents with an international membership.¹⁴

The English nuns who left St Ursula's, Louvain in 1609 to start an English house reflected later on some of the points they found challenging about living in a Flemish convent. It was not entirely a question of ethnicity: undoubtedly social class played a part too. It was harder for the well-born English women to adjust to the tough manual work expected of them: for instance, washing linen using lye took the skin off their hands and they found coarse rye bread difficult to eat.¹⁵

¹² Syon Abbey, South Brent, Devon, Box 28, MS (un-numbered). Late seventeenth-century copy of "An Account of The Travels, dangers and wonderful Deliverances of the English Nuns of the famous Monastery of Sion From their first leaving England to their Settlement at Lisbon in the Kingdom of Portugal".

¹³ A. Hamilton, *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses... Louvain: 1548 to 1644*, (Edinburgh: 1904-6), Vol. I, 39.

¹⁴ P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1795* (London: 1914) 171.

¹⁵ Hamilton, *The Chronicle*, 35.

Linguistic problems must have made it difficult for them to communicate with confessors and spiritual directors as well as Flemish senior members of the convent which would have added to a sense of isolation. While some English women learned French, few would have learned Flemish before their arrival.¹⁶

In the language of many of the documents written by émigré Catholics at the time of the foundations there was a heightened sense of 'destiny' and an emphasis on the connection of the monasteries with the original conversion of England partly in order to stress continuity. The English exiles were keen to counter Protestant propaganda which emphasised Catholic foreign connections and links with the Papacy. The history of the Brussels convent points out that the sole Benedictine monk in 1598 was in prison and that, effectively, the Brussels convent was the only Benedictine institution sprung from English soil.¹⁷ Richard Verstegan stressed the significance of the Benedictine order, the first in England following the conversion of the country led by St Augustine, in a dedication to Joan Berkeley, the first abbess at Brussels. He wrote:

To your good Ladiship I dedicate...unto you the first Abbess of your holy order revyved in our nation, whose posteritie by the divine providence may come to brighten our country with their shyning sanctitie as your predecessors heretofore have donne...¹⁸

Texts highlighting the persecution of Catholics including women by Elizabeth's government contributed to heightened sensibilities regarding the importance of creating and maintaining monastic institutions for English women.¹⁹ This is reflected in conventual sources where nuns with direct connections to families containing martyrs received special mentions in chronicles and obituaries. Margaret Clitherow, the York martyr, whose daughter became an Augustinian canoness at Louvain is remembered in texts in several convents and a printed biography

¹⁶ There are some notable exceptions to this: for instance the translation by Catherine Greenbury, the Abbess of the Franciscan convent in Brussels, of *A Short Relation of the life, virtues and miracles of S Elizabeth called the Peacemaker*, from Dutch, published in 1628.

¹⁷ *Chronicle of the First Monastery Founded at Brussels*, (Bergholt, St Mary's Abbey: 1898), 45.

¹⁸ Verstegan, translation of Peter of Lucca, *The dialogue of dying wel*, (Antwerp: 1603)

¹⁹ See J.T. Rhodes, "English Books of martyrs and Saints of the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries", *Recusant History*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 7–25.

was dedicated to her daughter.²⁰ Although there were many examples of suffering and persecution experienced by individual Catholics in continental Europe both the length of Elizabeth's reign and the geographical separation of England marked the English Catholics out from others. The Poor Clares, living in austerity, offered their lives as a sacrifice to bring England back to the Catholic faith.²¹ Nicky Hallett in her discussion of seventeenth-century life-writing argues that in Carmelite papers, the nuns represent Catholics as true patriots, praying for the 'poor distressed country of England'; and it is the apparently marginalized who occupy positions of perceived centrality, claiming continuity with an idyllic former time, their 'paradise on earth'.²² The tables have been turned on the Protestants who are seen as those who are suffering through religious error: their souls can be saved through the prayers of the exiled nuns.

The Bridgettines' awareness of their English identity and the extent of their sufferings in exile are visible in a petition they drew up seeking permission to return to England. In 1623, negotiations were taking place in Madrid which they (and many other English Catholics) hoped would lead to marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta, daughter of Philip III. Drawing on biblical language, the Bridgettines dramatically described the tribulations of exile to the Infanta:

... Most Gracious Lady, ... hear us say ... that we know, feel and have experienced for more than seventy years the full hardships of this our exile; of which our many afflictions, sorrows, and tears are true witnesses ... finally the aching loss of our native land, families and mother tongue, as well as our extreme poverty in foreign lands and kingdoms, ... set us free, to put an end to our exile and lead us back to happy and greatly desired rest in our former home, Syon ...²³

Unfortunately for the Bridgettines, the marriage negotiations broke down, the petition was never delivered and although Charles married

²⁰ Families whose connections with martyrs at Louvain were celebrated in convent sources include Rookwood, Wiseman, Allen, Garnet and Felton. See also, for instance, Archives du Nord, Lille, France, 20 H. 8, English Benedictines Cambrai, Martyrology: *An abstracte of the life and martirdome of Mistress Margaret Clitherowe who suffered in the year of our Lorde 1586, the 25 of March*, (Mechline: 1619).

²¹ Communicated to the author personally by Sister Mary Peter.

²² Nicky Hallett, ed., *Lives of Spirit: An Edition of English Carmelite Auto/Biographies of the Early Modern Period* (Aldershot: 2007), 2.

²³ Christopher De Hamel, *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and Their Peregrinations after the Reformation* (Roxburghe Club: 1991). The manuscript was dedicated to the 'Princess of Wales': the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III.

a French Catholic princess, toleration for Catholics did not follow and there was no end to exile for the nuns. The petition remains a significant document on a number of levels: not least their awareness of communal memory and identity, their knowledge of current political events in the Iberian peninsula and their yearning to return to England.

The suffering of aristocratic English Catholics drew some influential support in Flanders which served to underwrite the new foundations and single out the English for special treatment. One monastic writer comments: 'dureing the reigne of Queen Elizabeth, whose vilent persecutions against Catholicks forced all Religious women to settle amongst forrenners for want of convents in their own nation... the Prince & his Infanta who commanded as far as Graveline, being both great venerators of the Appostolical Roman faith & compassionateing the troubles the Catholicks had endured in England for above sixty years made the exiled sufferers very welcome'.²⁴ The endorsement by the Archdukes was a significant contributory factor in the survival of the new foundations in the early years of the seventeenth century. Their support enabled the convents to negotiate with other local authorities for permits and having influential patrons in turn brought in others.

Enclosed convents played a role in the preservation of identifiably English Catholicism from within the confines of their outer walls. For instance, they supported the English missions through prayers; although the Franciscan writer Christopher Davenport assigned the English Poor Clares a more radical role, when he wished them as ensign bearers a 'victorious triumph'.²⁵ Convents which undertook the education of girls, did so to bring them up either as potential members or future mothers of good English Catholics. Others provided accommodation for expatriate lay Catholics both men and women on convent property.

Only the Mary Ward sisters living unenclosed were in a position to go to England in person as part of the missionary effort. In 1611 Mary Ward wrote to the Papal Nuncio explaining that her house at

²⁴ MS, Fragment of contemporary annals formerly at Clare Abbey, Darlington, ff 4 & 5. 'The Prince and his Infanta' is a reference to Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella, rulers of the Spanish Netherlands.

²⁵ *The Chronicle and institution of the Order of the seraphicall father S Francis*, trans. Christopher Davenport: 1618, Dedication.

St Omer would provide education for English girls some of whom might become members able to carry out pastoral work in England.²⁶ A small group of Mary Ward sisters were active in London in the first decades of the seventeenth century living in the community and assisting in the work of looking after lay Catholics. Mary Ward herself returned to England in 1639 and died in Yorkshire in January 1645. A small group of English Ladies arrived to establish a small house and a school in Hammersmith in 1669 which continued to attract girls and women boarders well into the eighteenth century.²⁷ The Bar Convent opened in York in 1686 with a school attached. While remaining committed to work with English women and girls, by the end of the seventeenth century, with expansion into new areas in continental Europe, the English Ladies were international both in membership and the scope of their work, in contrast to those in enclosed convents.

English identity

The commitment to maintain the original ethnic identity of the convents in the long term was largely due to their acceptance of the aims of the founders; notably the preservation of English Catholicism for women ready to re-enter England. If the convents were to be acceptable in the home country they needed to remain recognisably English in both membership and culture. It seems that the term 'preserving English Catholicism' was understood by the nuns without being defined. Broadly, it focused on the establishment of religious institutions for English women in exile with (wherever possible) English chaplains or spiritual directors. Outside the liturgy, the convents preferred to use texts in English, praying to saints traditionally associated with the English nation and choosing appropriately English exemplary lives for readings, recognising and recalling the particular suffering of English Catholics under the Tudors and working within their rules towards either the conversion of England or at least a point where a

²⁶ Henrietta Peters, *Mary Ward: A World in Contemplation*, (Leominster: 1994), 111.

²⁷ For the history of the Mary Ward Sisters in the seventeenth century see, *Mary Ward*, Immolata Wetter, English Edition, (Regensburg: 1996): Mary Knight, op. cit., 44–48: Sister Gregory Kirkus, *A Historical Sketch of the Institute in England*, (Bar Convent, York: 1993).

return home would be tolerated. These elements will be considered in turn.

The convent membership records indicate that they very largely complied with the restrictive requirements of their foundation agreements regarding the nationality of their members. There are a handful of Scottish names among the choir nuns throughout two centuries and only a few more Welsh, mainly from Monmouthshire. A few more Irish names occur in the seventeenth-century, spread across more than ten English convents, in addition to the members of specifically Irish houses. Among lay sisters, the proportion of non-English names is higher in convents with unenclosed lay sisters, but even here the majority overall is English. There are a few exceptional clusters of local names, for instance at Liège where the Sepulchrines professed eight local women (four choir nuns and four lay sisters) and one Irish between 1642 and 1650: however, this was in the early years before the convent had fully established itself. Once foundations were secure, virtually all the choir nuns were English. A young Flemish woman, Agnes Roosendaell, was one of the few exceptions. She was so determined to join the Carmelites at Antwerp that she smuggled herself into the convent through the turn, normally used for passing goods through the wall. The Abbess obtained special permission to allow her profession in 1632 as a choir nun. In 1655 the Paris Augustinians modified their rule and were permitted in theory to admit ten French nuns; however there is only one French name in the register before the end of the century.²⁸ A few Portuguese names appear in the lists for the Bridgettines in the first half of the seventeenth century, but after some tensions arose, a separate Bridgettine convent for Portuguese women, Marvilla, was established in Lisbon in 1660. The membership at Syon contains no Portuguese names after this date.²⁹

The presence of some English lay people within the walls of some of the convents as schoolgirls, boarders and pensioners underlined the ethnic identity of the convent concerned. The constitutions varied regarding allowing the presence of lay people on convent property: as a result none of the English Carmels had schools or boarders. However, Augustinian sources show that in addition to providing income, the

²⁸ N. Hallett, ed., *Lives of Spirit*, (Aldershot: 2007), 79–81; F.M.T. Cédoz, *Un Couvent de Religieuses Anglaises à Paris de 1634 à 1884* (Paris: 1891), 16–17.

²⁹ Data based on author's research.

lay men and women formed part of the networks supporting Catholic exiles. These networks in turn supported the convents by raising awareness and enhancing the reputation of the nuns: all of which attracted candidates for profession. At Louvain in 1649, five distinguished English gentlemen, including the earl of Shrewsbury lived in the father confessor's house. In August 1675, Elizabeth Timperly, abbess of the Augustinians in Paris wrote anxiously to the earl of Castlemaine who was considering removing his nieces from her care because he had heard 'rumours' and he did not want them to be tainted by scandal.³⁰ Lord Montague wrote on behalf of the nuns reassuring him that it was a single lay sister at fault and that the problem had been settled. In reply, Castlemaine admitted he was impressed by the status of the convent's advocate and promised to reconsider his decision. The exchange illustrates not only the importance of Catholic networks in exile but the significance of a convent's reputation to its ability to attract support and future members.³¹ Although most of the school girls in the seventeenth century were English, gradually the numbers of non-English increased until in the eighteenth century some schools (such as in Paris and Bruges) educated mainly the local elites.

The social status of many of the English nuns linked them with senior political advisors directly associated with the English court-in-exile after the execution of Charles I in 1649 and again after the abrupt departure of James II and VII from England in 1688. While on the one hand these relationships may have further complicated the management of external relationships for the abbesses, they also served to emphasise their English identity. The relationship between Charles II in exile and Mary Knatchbull, abbess of Ghent was one of a number of connections made by the English convents in the seventeenth century which brought them into direct contact with the Stuarts. Charles' mother Henrietta Maria visited English convents on a number of well publicised occasions. The restoration of Charles II in 1660 encouraged some of the nuns, not least the abbess of Ghent to consider the possibility of an imminent return to England. Royal connections were reinforced for the Benedictines by the presence of two illegitimate daughters of Charles II and James II, (Barbara Fitzroy and Arabella

³⁰ Roger Palmer, earl of Castlemaine (1634–1705).

³¹ Archives Archdiocese of Westminster, A series, Vol. XXXIV, 1672–86: ff. 327, 329, 333–5, 337, 339, 343, 345, 349, 351, 354–9, July–September 1675.

FitzJames) among the members at Pontoise in the 1690s. Assiduously developing connections with monarchs and their families would keep the claims of the convents to return to England in front of those at the English court in a position to influence decisions. Several convents had correspondence with Mary of Modena, the second wife of James II whom they hoped would influence her husband to secure an end to exile.³²

As has already been suggested, Englishness in daily life was reinforced through the extensive use of the vernacular in the convents.³³ Although the daily office was in Latin, one of the first tasks (often led by the spiritual director) was to gather or create works in translation, either in print or manuscript, to support the spiritual life of the nuns. The Latin of the liturgy was the limit of competence of most of the choir nuns. Substantial numbers of texts, some of them now only fragments, have survived from the English convents and there is indirect evidence in the form of catalogues of many more.³⁴ Many of the texts were chosen to emphasise English connections. One of the works translated and copied in 1662 for use at Lisbon by two of the Bridgettine brothers, was; 'English Saintes of Kinges & Bishoppes in the primitive times of the Catholique Church when our Countrie of England was governed by Heptarchie of seaven Kinges'³⁵ Father Augustine Baker, spiritual director at Cambrai between 1624 and 1633, encouraged the study of medieval English mystics such as Julian of Norwich. As well as creating copies for their own use, the nuns supplied copies of rare

³² The political agency of English nuns is discussed in Caroline Bowden, "The Abbess and Mrs Brown: Lady Mary Knatchbull and royalist politics in Flanders in the late 1650s", *Recusant History*, Vol. 24/No. 3 (May 1999), 288–308; and Claire Walker, "Loyal and Dutifull Subjects: English Nuns and Stuart Politics", in James Daybell ed., *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700* (Aldershot: 2004), 228–42.

³³ Increasing numbers of texts were becoming available in English to support the devotions of English Catholics, particularly from the 1590s, with works such as Verstegan's *Primer* in Latin and English published in 1599.

³⁴ For studies of these see Dorothy Latz, "Glow-worm light": *writings of 17th century English recusant women...* (Salzburg: 1989); Heather Wolfe, "Reading Bells and Loose Papers: Reading and Writing Practices of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and Paris", in Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson eds., *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing* (Aldershot: 2004), 135–56; and forthcoming, Caroline Bowden, "Books and reading at Syon Abbey, Lisbon in the seventeenth century", in E. A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Syon Abbey and its Books, c. 1400–1700: Religious Communities in late medieval and early modern England*, (Boydell Press: 2010).

³⁵ Syon Abbey, Devon, MS (un-numbered), 'English Saintes of Kinges & Bishoppes...' transcribed by John Bibian and Henrie Mease, 1662, 2 Vols.

texts for other Benedictine houses.³⁶ At a time when Protestant polemic emphasised the ‘otherness’ of Catholic culture, these choices emphasising both Englishness and a sense of continuity with the distant past in England was significant. The Bridgettines underlined their national identity by other cultural decisions: for instance their commission of a set of paintings of early Christian English kings and queens from the Spanish painter, Francisco Pacheco to display in the convent.³⁷

English saints were the focus of the liturgy in many convents: for instance, the Augustinians sang the Litany of the Saints for the return of England to its ancient faith on the Feasts of St Gregory the Great and St Thomas of Canterbury. For the Benedictines at Cambrai, the greatest feasts of the year included St Eadburga, St Augustine of Canterbury and St Benet Biscop when special versions of the liturgy were sung.³⁸ *The English Nunne* (1642) served as a manual to families living in England, unused to seeing convents in their neighbourhood and unable otherwise to access practical guidance. While it justified the monastic life, it enhanced the reputation of English Catholics from former times including the exemplary Saxon queens, Eldrede, Ethelburg and Alfrede. In a conclusion dedicated to ‘Superiors and devout Sisters of all the English Monasteries of Religious Women beyond the Seas’, the author explained that he wrote out of respect for their way of life and to encourage others to join them. Women unable to commit themselves to the religious life could assist the convents by donating money.³⁹

Prayer was part of the work of enclosed convents: prayers were said regularly for the conversion of England. For instance, it was made part of the consciousness of the nuns at the Benedictine convent in Paris by being included as a promise made at profession.⁴⁰ Postulants at the Bridgettine convent in Lisbon were reminded that their situation was

³⁶ See Heather Wolfe, ‘Reading Bells and Loose Papers...(above) and “Dame Barbara Constable: Catholic Antiquarian, Advisor, and Closet Missionary”, in Ronald Corthell, et al. eds., *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: 2007) 158–188.

³⁷ Discussed in Michael E Williams, ‘Paintings of Early British Kings and Queens at Syon Abbey, Lisbon’, *Birgittiana*, i (1996) 123–134.

³⁸ My thanks are due to Dame Margaret Truran of Stanbrook Abbey for her advice on this point.

³⁹ Laurence Anderton, *The English Nunne*, 1642: quoted in Fran Dolan, ‘Why Are Nuns Funny?’ *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70/4 (2007), 509–34.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, the discussion in Heather Wolfe, ‘Dame Barbara Constable...’, 160.

temporary when they promised at their clothing ceremony to obey the rules and ordinance in exile 'and when it shall please God to call us home unto Syon again, then and there to observe the said Rule'.⁴¹

The determination to maintain the English identity created additional challenges in the governance of the convents in exile. The membership records show that while the convents attracted a few candidates from émigré communities, most of them were from England and were thus outside the range of local knowledge regarding the convent's reputation. As a result, convents had to consider strategies for recruitment in order to reach potential members. Family networks appear to have worked in some cases; in others agents were responsible for bringing in suitable candidates. Susan Hawley's introduction to the Sepulchrine convent she founded in Liège published in 1652 was partly designed to be used as an aid to recruitment. It explained how the order was well suited to the English character and it had instructions on how to travel from England to Liège printed inside the back cover.⁴² However, recruitment remained an intermittent problem for most English convents as witnessed by the variations in rates of profession and occasional pleas to be allowed to beg for alms because of poverty resulting from the loss of dowries.

Preliminary analysis of account books and membership records suggests most of the capital funding for the convents came from English sources either directly from England or from expatriate English families living in exile. The main source of income for the convents was undoubtedly the substantial dowries brought by choir nuns provided by their English families and connections. However, the passage of funds was hindered by adverse events in England or when individual families suffered sudden losses which prevented them paying. The civil wars in England and interregnum (1642–1660) severely interrupted the flow of rents and cut off dowry payments in many cases. Mary Knatchbull, Abbess of Ghent claimed that capital invested in England earned a return double that received locally. In 1642, they had almost ten times as much invested in England; but they suffered for four years

⁴¹ "The Wanderings of Syon", *Poor Soul's Friend*, Vol. XV, No. 8, (October, 1907), 216.

⁴² Susan Hawley, *A briefe relation of the Order and Institute of the English Religious Women at Liège* (1652).

when they got no income from their investments.⁴³ From time to time journeys were undertaken by members of the English convents across the channel to chase up money: for instance Mary Pole, Prioress at Bruges sent two sisters to England to beg for alms in 1635 and received enough to pay off their debts.⁴⁴ They were not the only ones to try it, but the results of these attempts to raise cash or collect debts owed to them were variable. Whatever the effects on the balance sheets, the focus in the long term on English capital and English financial management for parts of the funds served to emphasise a separate identity.

While English remained the *lingua franca* of the convents, many of the nuns spoke and wrote other languages, as evidenced in a number of translations and texts by nuns. The Sepulchrines wrote their accounts in French soon after their foundation and the examination of the novices before their final vows was recorded in French. However, there is less evidence of fluency in either Dutch or Portuguese. Pascal Majérus has found a number of instances in the seventeenth century where English nuns in Flanders were enjoined to learn Dutch.⁴⁵

Although they established local relationships, Abbesses complied with the requirements of the local authorities and tended to look first for assistance to the English for support and patronage. Mary Gough the first Abbess of the Poor Clares at Gravelines wrote what was in effect a business plan. Forbidden by her foundation documents to beg from the local community, she sent out a call for assistance to English expatriates stating what the convent needed, and how the items including butter, cheese, oil and candles could best be sent. The appeal, she explained, would also allow her to establish a hardship fund to assist candidates for profession who could not afford the dowry.⁴⁶ Abbess Anne Neville in her history of the Benedictine convents, continually emphasised the English connections that supported the membership by sending candidates and funds. Her reliance on her English connections led her in the 1680s to comment on her belief that Mary of

⁴³ *Annals of the English Benedictines of Ghent*, (Privately Printed: 1894) 156, 159–60.

⁴⁴ See the discussion in Claire Walker, “Loyal and Dutifull Subjects”, 122–124; and Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic refugees*, 388.

⁴⁵ Pascal Majérus, “Une immigration spirituelle? Les maisons religieuses anglo-irlandaises en Belgique (XVII^{ème}–XVIII^{ème} siècles)”, *Deuxième Journée d’Etudes sur L’Histoire des Couvents Belges*, (Bruxelles: 2001), 133.

⁴⁶ Appeal from Mary Gough to English Catholics, Archives Archdiocese Westminster, A series, Vol. VIII, 1606–09, f 89.

Modena would remind her husband (James II) of his promise made in exile to invite the Brussels convent as the mother house to return to England.⁴⁷ Abbess Neville wrote that she did not expect the invitation to arrive in her lifetime but was confident that it would come: the events of 1688 in England and the sudden end to the reign of James II would dash these hopes.

Local interaction and English identity

Although the convents remained identifiably English over the whole recusant period, they were also part of their local communities and influenced by their surroundings. Decrees passed at the Council of Trent in 1563 required all religious houses for women to be enclosed and built in the centre of towns for protection. The first convents were based in the same towns as diasporic exiled communities of English Catholics in Flanders such as Brussels, St Omer and Antwerp. The convents provided chapels with publicly accessible areas which became popular both with locals and English visitors to the continent and some earned a reputation for fine singing.⁴⁸ The nuns invested some of their funds through local contacts and banks including the recently established *Monts de Piété*. At the same time, abbesses and prioresses established relationships with local secular and ecclesiastical authorities as part of the regulatory framework underpinning the legal status of the convents. Evidence of the interaction between many of the English convents and their neighbours was recorded regularly in the convents' books of benefactors and accounts showing alms and other gifts from locals as well as English supporters.⁴⁹ They provided money for buildings and improvements, ornaments for the church and contributions towards the running costs. For instance, the Poor

⁴⁷ M.J. Rumsey, ed., "Abbess Neville's Annals...1598-1687", (Misc. V, Vol. 6: *Catholic Record Society*: 1909), 18.

⁴⁸ The French Chancellor, Seguier, gave money to the Augustinians in Paris after he had been impressed by their singing; A.F. Allison, "The English Augustinian Convent of Our Lady of Syon at Paris: its foundation and struggle for survival during the first eighty years, 1634-1713", *Recusant History*, 21 (1992-3), 464.

⁴⁹ Evidence of these activities is found in a wide range of sources most particularly in annals, account and benefactors' books: for accessible printed sources see, for example, R. Trappes-Lomax, ed., *Records of the English Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre at Liège*, (Misc. X, Catholic Record Society: 1915). R. Trappes-Lomax ed., *Franciscana: The English Franciscan Nuns, 1619-1821...*, (Vol. 24: Catholic Record Society: 1922).

Clares in Rouen were given money for completing the church and for boarding of their floors.⁵⁰ Some of the funds were spent patronising local architects, painters and builders resulting in a variety of influences on styles in English convents. A Portuguese choir nun, Bridget de Mendanha became Abbess in Lisbon in 1650: the only one in the history of the convent. Elizabeth Perry has shown that the genre of Mendanha's portrait, painted after her death comes from a Portuguese rather than an English tradition; a hint of the cultural changes that might accompany the election of a local to a position of authority.⁵¹

Relationships with local communities were often complex and demarcation of boundaries between the secular and sacred blurred. In theory, the convents operated behind the high walls of the enclosure, but as we have already seen, in practice enclosure was permeable. The English nuns would remain aware of their neighbours living in close proximity and suffered with them from the effects of wars, natural disasters such as floods and epidemics. For instance, the chronicles for the Augustinian canonesses at Louvain show how the nuns suffered from the serious flooding in February 1658 when at the end of heavy snow melt, the sluices burst and the town was inundated. The nuns wrote; 'the orchard was like a sea so that a boat came to us to know if we wanted any thing'. They hired three or four men to carry basic supplies including beer upstairs together with a sister who was bed-ridden. Their confessor brought them food and they described how they managed to continue a somewhat truncated version of the divine office. The episode meant that lay people were allowed into the enclosure to assist the nuns. The Chronicle intersperses obituaries of the nuns with observations on the regular interaction with their neighbours; mutual charities, kindnesses and services performed but the convent remained identified in local sources as English.⁵²

Conclusion

The enclosed convents established in exile in the seventeenth century remained identifiably English in membership and culture throughout

⁵⁰ Ann C.M. Forster, "The Chronicles of the English Poor Clares of Rouen-I", *Recusant History*, XVIII (1986-7), 66-68.

⁵¹ Personal communication from Dr Elizabeth Perry: part of research project on Bridgettine art patronage.

⁵² Priory of Our Lady, Sayers Common, MS. C2, Louvain Chronicles, ff 599-602.

the recusant period praying for an end to exile. During this period they self-consciously cultivated an institutional English identity which they passed on as far as they could to their successors. Within these broad terms, there was variation in practice and in aims since individual convents adopted distinctive daily practices and were subject to different experiences. A striking distinction can be seen between the activities and experiences of the Mary Ward sisters (the English Ladies) who were unenclosed, living in houses in the community and the members of the enclosed convents. As we have seen, some of the Mary Ward sisters returned from exile, remaining permanently in England from the latter part of the century: however, others on the continent kept their title as the 'English Ladies' while absorbing locals into their communities.

Even as communities enclosed by high walls, the English convents worked for an end to exile on a number of levels. In anticipation of the desired event, the nuns took steps to preserve English culture in all aspects of their daily lives. However, this did not isolate the convents from their neighbours: in their position in the centre of towns they were surrounded by people who were not of their country. Over time the English convents were changed by the experience of living abroad assimilating different cultures, languages and practices while remaining essentially English.

The Poor Clares of Rouen described the events of 1688 which effectively put an end to their hopes of a return from exile for the foreseeable future: "The yeare 1688 brought great revolutions to our poor Country, the Prince of Orange invading our Kingdome, which caused great troubles to many of our Catholick friends and forced many of them to come into these parts..."⁵³ In contrast to the hopes generated by the accession of James II in 1685, the movement of Catholics now appeared to be in the opposite direction, out of England rather than an end to exile: they would have to preserve their English identity in exile for many more years.

⁵³ Forster, "The Chronicles", 96.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE BRITISH ISLES AND IRELAND
AMONG THE CATHOLIC EXILES: THE CASE OF
ROBERT CORBINGTON SJ

Peter Davidson

To understand the perceptions of Britain and Ireland amongst Catholics exiled from the three kingdoms, it is important to realise that the Protestant regime in England was engaged, from the time of the Henrician schism onwards, in the enterprise of re-writing history. England had to be recast as independent of the continent, and naturally superior within the archipelago. Generalisations on English centrality and superiority are found in Spenser, Camden and John Speed, as well as in the infinitely less subtle and reputable works of rabid propagandists such as John Bale, who was early in the articulation of the thesis of the natural supremacy of the English over the Irish.¹ This paper is about the cultural response, especially the linguistic response, in the exiled Catholic communities on the Continent to this kind of rewriting of religious and cultural history.

I have written at length elsewhere of the Catholic responses to the new histories emerging from Protestant England and of the forms which these took in the cultural life of the exiled English Colleges and Religious Houses on the continent.² In early-modern Europe, it

¹ Bale, *The vocacyon of Ioha[n] Bale to the bishiprick of Ossorie in Irela[n]de his persecucio[n]s in ye same, & finall delyueraunce...* ('Rome': J. Lambrecht[?] for Hugh Singleton, 1553) [ESTC (2nd edn.) 1307]; Camden, *Britannia siue Florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio* (London: R. Newbery, 1586) [ESTC (2nd edn.) 4503]; Speed, *The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans Their originals, manners, warres, coines & seales...* (London: [William Hall and John Beale], 1611) [ESTC (2nd edn.) 23045].

² Cf. Peter Davidson, 'The Solemnity of the Madonna Vulnerata, Valladolid, 1600' in Peter Davidson and Jill Bepler eds., *The Triumphs of the Defeated, Early-Modern Festivals and Messages of Legitimacy* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag (in Kommission), 2007), 39–54; 'Recusant Catholic Spaces in early-modern England' in Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley and Arthur F. Marotti (eds), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2007), 19–51; 'Donec Templa Refeceris: British Catholicism, Roman Antiquity, Historical Contention' in Cinzia Maria Sicca ed., *John Talman* (London and New Haven, Yale

was usual to argue merit from antiquity, and so these confessional arguments are to a considerable extent a war over possession of the past. This contention found expression in allegorical historical drama,³ and in the devising of emblems and iconographies (including, at the English College in Valladolid in September 1600, the use of a 'ready-made' in the form of a sacred statue vandalised by the Earl of Essex's raid on Cadiz.) The battle for the past was also extended into the realm of the visual arts, not only the publication of engraved depictions of martyrdoms,⁴ but also in imaginary depictions of ancestors: especially the sequences of Saxon monarchs once at Lisbon and Seville, now at Oscott College, Birmingham and the English College, Valladolid.⁵ Also at Valladolid are printed works by English Protestant historians—Camden and Speed—with vituperative, controversial marginalia.⁶

Another form of direct response to Camden is a Jesuit college play which adapts and changes aspects of Camden's account of the English past to expound Catholic perceptions of antiquity and continuity: Joseph Simons's *Mercia or piety crowned*, first performed at S. Omers

University Press, forthcoming); 'Opposing Elizabeth' in Alessandra Petrina ed., *Queens and Country* (Manchester: MUP, forthcoming.) A splendid account of the cultural life of the English College at Valladolid can be found in Javier Burrieza Sánchez, *Una Isla de Inglaterra en Castilla* [exhibition catalogue] (Valladolid: 2000).

³ There are many examples out of the substantial repertory which survives: the anonymous *Psyche et filii eius*, performed at Valladolid in 1615, is an allegory of a family divided by religious and political faction; *Leo Armenus*, performed at S. Omers in the 1620s and revived at Rome in the 1640s, applies the iconoclast controversies in Byzantium allegorically first to the desecration of English religious houses under Henry, Edward and Elizabeth and (in the 1645 revival) to iconoclasm by the English Parliamentarians.

⁴ Most famously in the engraved representations of the martyr-paintings on the walls of the chapel of the English College in Rome: Niccolò Circignano, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea... Passiones, Romae in Collegio Anglico per N. Circinianum depictae; nuper autem per Io. Bap. De Caualeriis aeneis typis repraesentatae* (Rome: Franciscum Zannettum, 1584), cf. also Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque, Jesuit Art in Rome 1565-1610* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003), 122-65.

⁵ Michael Williams, 'Paintings of early British Kings and Queens at Syon Abbey, Lisbon', *Birgittiana. Rivista internazionale di studi brigidiani*, I (1996), 123-134. The significance of these paintings to historical and confessional controversy is brilliantly discussed in Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community 1535-1603*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) 333-34.

⁶ For these marginalia, see Peter Davidson, 'Donec Templā Refeceris: British Catholicism, Roman Antiquity, Historical Contention' in Cinzia Maria Sicca ed., *John Talman* (London and New Haven, Yale University Press, forthcoming).

in February 1624.⁷ This play opposes the evil deceits of the pagan priests of ancient Mercia to the benign figure of the seventh-century Catholic hermit-bishop S. Chad. The saint is depicted as a force of pristine virtue, the agent who reveals truth, truly at home in the deep oakwoods of England. This figure of benign Catholicism is a powerful counterweight to Milton's imagination of malign Catholicism infiltrating England in the deep forests on its Celtic frontiers, the enchanter Comus.⁸ In Milton's masque, the dangerous, quasi-Catholic, outland magician exists at the edge of English civilisation (and English language) in an entertainment devised for the English élite governing 1630s Wales from the frontier castle at Ludlow.

But now I would like to turn to the main focus of this paper: the ways in which the exiled Catholic community, especially members of the Society of Jesus, perceived a diverse Britain and Ireland, made up of a diversity of peoples and languages. In every part of the seventeenth-century world, the Jesuit enterprise extended to language and the learning of languages as well as to drama, controversy and poetry, and this very much applies to Jesuit perceptions of Britain and Ireland.

Four inscriptions surviving in the nave of the Basilica at Loretto (Marche, Italy), by Robert Corbington (or Corbie) SJ (1596–1637), are the point of departure for this preliminary investigation: they describe the miracles of the Holy House of Loreto in Gaelic, Scots, Welsh and English, descriptions written by an Englishman who had

⁷ A useful translation by R.F. Grady SJ can be found in *Jesuit Theater Englished*, ed. Louis J. Oldani SJ and Philip C. Fisher SJ (St Louis: Institute of Jesuits Sources, 1989) 79–159. For advice on all of this material I am indebted to Prof Alison Shell of the University of Durham.

⁸ John Milton, *A maske presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634 on Michaelmasse night, before the Right Honorable, Iohn Earle of Bridgewater, Vicount Brackly, Lord Praesident of Wales, and one of His Maiesties most honorable Privie Counsell* (London: [Augustine Mathewes] for Humphrey Robinson, 1637) [ESTC (2nd edn.) 17937]. In context of Milton's imagination of the marches as the place where a dangerous, quasi-Catholic figure can operate it is worth recollecting the degree to which the remoter territories of the marches provided a refuge to Recusant Catholics. *Records Relating to Catholicism in the South Wales Marches* ed. John Hobson Matthews (London: Catholic Record Society, 1906) 289 records, that in the year 1605 the Anglican Bishop of Hereford's men 'did make diligent search all that night, and daie following, from village to village from house to house, about thirtie miles compasse, neere the confines of Monmouthshiere, where they found houses full of alters, images, bookes of superstition, Reliques of idolatry, but left desolate of men and weomen, except here or there an aged weoman, or a child, all were fledd into Wales, and but one man apprehended...'

learned the other languages of the archipelago.⁹ (Corbington was himself a graduate of the English College at Valladolid, the linguistic policies of which will be discussed below.)

These inscriptions provide an example of the complete inversion of an expected pattern of language-use, whereby a speaker of a 'minority' language would learn English or communicate (as was frequently the case) with educated English speakers in spoken or written Latin. These inscriptions, however, are logically part of a global Jesuit cultural policy which applies to the diverse cultures of Britain as much as to Native Americans. The Jesuit policy of cultural accommodation as applied here to the three kingdoms and four peoples, the learning of the languages of those who have no access either to Latin or to standard English, could not offer a starker contrast to Tudor suprematism. Jesuits existed at something of an angle to the mainstream of the counter-reformation (which in the end suppressed them): they were central to its enterprise but perhaps atypically committed to studying and negotiating with minority cultures internationally.

I would like to consider briefly the career of the Jesuit linguist who wrote the multilingual inscriptions still to be seen in the Basilica of the Holy house at Loreto. Robert Corbington SJ (his alias-surnames were 'Corbie' and 'Flower') was born at Dublin in about 1596, his Catholic parents having fled to Ireland from religious persecution in their native north of England. (His two brothers were also Jesuits: B. Ralph Corbie SJ was martyred at Tyburn in 1644, Ambrose Corbington SJ, 1604–1649, was a professor at the Collegio Romano.) He was partially brought up thereafter in the north of England and educated on the continent, initially at the Jesuit seminary at Watten. Importantly, he was at the English College in Valladolid in 1615, and amongst his fellow students in that year is recorded one 'Nicholaus

⁹ These inscriptions are reproduced as illustrations in Floriano Grimaldi, *La Histoira della Chiesa di Santa Maria de Loreto* (Loreto: Carilo, Casa di Risparmio di Loreto spa, 1993), 500–510; he also reproduces the texts of contemporary broadsheets which printed Corbington's inscriptions with woodcuts of the Holy House. All printed at Loreto by Francesco Serafini, the English version *The Miraculous Origin and Translation of the Church of our B. Lady of Loreto* in 1634; the Welsh version, *Dechrebad a Rhyfedhvs Esmviad Eglwys yr Arglw y Dhes Fair O Loreto*, in 1635; the Scots version, *the Wondrus Flittinge of the Kirk of Our B. Ledy of Loreto* in 1635. The Irish version *Tosach agus aistriugha miorbhuileach Thempoill Mhuire Loreto* was printed in Irish type at Rome in 1707.

Pritchardus, Cambrobritannus'.¹⁰ In 1624 he was on the English mission, in Durham.¹¹ He appears to have taken his final vows as a Jesuit in 1626: thereafter, he was in Rome,¹² and subsequently at Loreto (1634–35), acting in both places as confessor to Irish and British pilgrims.¹³ He was sent to London in 1636¹⁴ and died in England, once more in Durham, on the seventeenth of April, 1637. The assessment of his character preserved by the militarily meticulous reports of the Jesuits is that he was well-educated in 'humane letters', albeit mediocre as a practitioner of them, but a skilled theologian. He is described as in good health, but 'choleric' in temperament.¹⁵

While we can assume that he learned Irish in his childhood, and Welsh from his fellow-students, how he learned Scots is less certain: it is wholly possible that he had contact with Scottish Jesuits in Rome, or that he had heard Scots spoken frequently in the north of England.¹⁶ Certainly, the Scots language in his inscription is convincing and wholehearted, as this example demonstrates:

The Kirk of Laureto was a caumber of the house of the Blest Virgin neir Ierusalem in the toune of Nazaret, in whilk she was borne and teende up, and greeted by the Angel, and thairin also conceaved and nourisht har sonne IESVS whill he was he was twalle zear avvd. This caumber, efter the Ascensione of our B. Saviour was by the Apostles hallowed as a *Kirk* in honour of our B. Ledy, and S. *Luke* framed a pictur to har vary lyknes thair zit to be seine.¹⁷

It is a remarkable artefact: one of the few surviving examples of early-modern Scots as a learned language. It challenges many preconceptions about hierarchy of language in the early-modern world, but it is,

¹⁰ The manuscript *Liber Alumnorum* or matriculation book in the archives of the English College at Valladolid lists 'Nicolaus Prichardus' as no 51, 'Robertus Florus alias Corbingtonus' as no 362. For a concise, and precise, summary of Corbington's career see the entry on him in Thomas M. McCoog SJ, *English and Welsh Jesuits, 1555–1650* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1994).

¹¹ Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu, MS Anglia 11, f. 27r '1624. Rodolphus Corbingtonus in miss. Dunelmensi'.

¹² ARSI, MS Anglia 11, f. 8r.

¹³ ARSI MS Hist Soc 46, f. 47r.

¹⁴ ARSI MS Anglia 10, f. 189v.

¹⁵ ARSI MS Angli 10, f. 94r, he is described as 'sanguine' in the report for the following year, on f. 121r.

¹⁶ Cf also fn. 19.

¹⁷ Floriano Grimaldi, *La Histoira della Chiesa di Santa Maria de Loreto* (Loreto: Carilo, Casa di Risparmio di Loreto spa, 1993), 510.

in fact, in accord with the universal Jesuit policy of the use of every vernacular which can be learned.

Hints of how the global Jesuit linguistic policy on minority languages was applied to the languages of Scotland can be recovered from manuscript material in their Roman archives. There is scattered evidence in these documents that the Jesuits were well aware of the linguistic disposition of Scotland, of the possibility of an Irish Gaelic speaker serving the Gaelic-speaking Scottish Highlanders, of the difference between Scots and English in the Lowlands, and of the difficulties and questionable usefulness of sending an Englishman on the Scottish mission.

This can be traced in a series of letters and memoranda of various administrators of the tenuous but valiant Jesuit mission to seventeenth-century Scotland: all variations on the essential perception of the distinction of highland and lowland, and the parallel perception that the Scots and the English are antipathetic, being divided by custom, law and language, and that their antipathy is to be compared to that of the Castilian and the Portuguese, the diversity of language to Dutch and German.¹⁸ An early-seventeenth-century memorandum on the state of Scotland also emphasises that only Scots are of service on the Scottish mission, except for the Gaelic highlands which may be served from Ireland. Indeed, there was one Irish Jesuit definitely on the mission in the Highlands in the later part of the century.¹⁹ The memorandum goes further in asserting that Scots and English are barely mutually intelligible as spoken languages, and that it is extremely difficult for an English speaker to adapt his dialect to one acceptable to the Scots.²⁰ As late as 1713 the Scottish Jesuit returns are still distinguishing between those who know Scots or English as opposed to 'Erse'.²¹

This awareness was also shown in 1592, when the English College at Valladolid received the King of Spain, Philip II. As part of the ceremonial which welcomed the monarch, he was offered a series of orations in the various languages known to students and staff of the College,

¹⁸ ARSI, MS Anglia 42, f. 36r.

¹⁹ Cf. ARSI, MS Anglia 41, f. 251r, which records the sending of one Irishman into 'illam regni Scotici partem ubi sola Hibernica lingua in usu est.'

²⁰ ARSI Anglia 42 f. 36r [memorandum on the state of Scotland; Early c. 17], other reflections on language, including the Gaelic speech of the 'barbarian...heretic' Argyll can be found on ff. ff. 20r and v, 41v-42r, 179-80.

²¹ Anglia 24a, f. 9r et seq.

among which were Welsh and Scots.²² It is possible that this inclusion of Welsh and Scots (and indeed, on a subsequent occasion—August, 1600—Cornish)²³ was part of a deliberate policy of linguistic inclusiveness: a revised representation of British diversity, formulated in exile.

What is said about the Scots language in the 1592 Valladolid record is in itself interesting (although unfortunately the oration's own text has not survived):²⁴

Subio luego el sexto, que dixo en lengua Escocesa: la qual come se usa ordinariamente in la Corte, y mejores partes de Escocia, no es muy diferente se nostra lengua Inglesa, como V.M. sabe (aunque en las partes de las montañas de aquel Reyno, y en las Islas circunuezinaz de Orcades, y Hebrides, su lengua es Irlandesa) y esta es la causa que algunos de nuestra nacion, que nacieron hazia las partes del Norte de Inglaterra, o han tenido al guntrato en aquel Reyno, hablan aquella lengua, y el deste dia la hablò con harta propiedad...

[Then followed the sixth, which was in the Scottish language. That which is used ordinarily in the Court and in the greater part of Scotland, as your Majesty knows, it is not much different from our English language (however in the mountainous parts of that kingdom and in the offshore Islands, as the Orcades and Hebrides, their language is Irish) and that is the reason that some of our nation born in the Northern parts of England speak that language, through contact with that nation, and it was spoken on that day with the fullest accuracy...]

Again, this suggests that the boundaries between the languages are permeable and that this part of exiled England is perfectly respectful of Scots as a language in its own right.

So what can we conclude from this very preliminary survey of the three kingdoms seen from the perspective of Catholic exile? The whole question of perception of the three kingdoms and their languages is

²² See Mgr. Michael Williams, *St Alban's College, Valladolid* (London and New York, 1986), 11–12. An independent Scots College was not established in Spain until 1623, and before that, it is just possible that there were Scottish students at Valladolid.

²³ There is no trace of the texts of any of these orations in the college archives at Valladolid. The Cornish Oration was probably delivered by Richard Pentreth who joined the college in April 1600 and left for Douai in spring, 1601, arriving there in July. Mgr. Edwin Henson, ed., *Registers of the English College at Valladolid* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1930), 59.

²⁴ *Relacion de un Sacerdote Ingles, escrita a Flandres... en la qual de la cuenta de la venida de su Magestad a Valladolid, y al Collegio de los Ingeses... Traduiça... por Tomas Eclesal cavallero Ingles.* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592); Gregoria de Mediola SJ, *Historia y Milagros de Nuestra Señora La Vulnerata* (Valladolid: Bartolome Portiles, 1667), 24, also recalls the orations and verses 'en varias lenguas'.

much more complex than will be allowed by those twenty-first century historians who are the heirs of the propagandist antiquaries of Henry VIII and Elizabeth of England. Above all, there is a vast quantity of work still to be done on the high cultures of Scotland and Ireland which are preserved in the surviving archives and libraries of the British and Irish Catholic colleges now or formerly on the Continent.

INDEX

- Abercromby, Robert, S.J., 267
 Aberdeen, 52, 71, 193, 197
 University, 261, 263
 Aberdeenshire, 32, 182
 Åbo, 55
 Achaius, King, see Eochaidh
 Adamson, John, 209
 Æthelburg, Queen, consort of King Ine
 of Wessex, 309
 Africa, North, 120
 African, slaves, 14
 Agricola, Carl, 217
 Aire, 299
 Albertus, Magnus, Saint, 5, 134
 Albizzi, Francesco, 286, 294
 Albrecht VII, Archduke of Austria, 281,
 304
 Alcalá de los Gazules, Fernando
 Enríquez de Ribera, Duque de, 283
 Aleksei Mikhaïlovich, Czar of Russia,
 221
 Alexander VII, Pope (1655–67), 154
 Alford, Battle of (July 1645), 187
 Allen, family, 303
 William, Cardinal, 279
 Alps, the, 245
 Alsace, 184
 Altamirano, Fernando Guevara, 150
 Ambrozowicz, Christopher, 73
 America, 110, 126
 Americans, native, 14, 318
 Americas, the, 15, 128
 Ames, William, 243
 Amiens, 269
 Amsterdam, 89, 209
 Anabaptism/Anabaptists, 96, 99
 Anderlecht, 269
 Anderson, family, 39, 274
 Johan, 38
 Angers, 24
 Angoumois, 203
 Anhalt, 168
 Anjou, 128–9, 133, 136
 Anne of Austria, Queen, consort of
 Louis XIII, King of France, 188
 Antwerp, 158, 306, 312
 Ap-Evan, Evan, 18
 Apocalypse, the, 244
 Aragon, 109–10, 114, 121, 272
 Aragonese, the, 109
 Arbroath, 42
 Archer, Luke, Sir, 290
 architecture, 48, 166, 189, 216, 219–20,
 222–3, 230–1, 233, 263, 298–9, 312–3
 Ardeni, George, 73
 Argyll, Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of,
 187
 earl of, 16, 320
 Armagh, 290
 Arminianism, 89, 243, 246–7
 Armitage, David, 16
 Arnet, William, 146
 Arras, 275
 Arriaga, Rodrigo de, S.J., 282
 arts, the, 215–36 *passim.*, 299, 316
 Ascham, Anthony, 141, 145–53, 155–6,
 158–60
 Athlone, 300
 Aubigné, Agrippa d', 128
 Auchinvole, family, 32
 Augsburg, 217
 Augustine, Saint, Archbishop of
 Canterbury, 309
 Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo, 281,
 302
 Augustinians, 298, 302, 306–7, 309,
 312–3
 Augustinianism, 282
 Auld Alliance, 3
 Auldearn, Battle of (May 1645), 187
 Austria, 5–6, 188, 200, 231, 255, 272
 Avenione, 269
 Babski, Mathew, 71
 Baillie, Robert, 97, 212
 Baird, John, 96–100
 Baker, Augustine, O.S.B., 308
 Bale, John, 315
 Baltic, the, 25, 104, 163
 Barbados, 25, 129
 Barbary, 6
 Barberini, Antonio, Cardinal, 287, 294
 Barclay, family, 36
 James, 271
 William, Colonel, 52, 54, 167–8, 173
 Bärnhart, Johan, 38

- Barten, Andrew, 80
 Basadonna, Pietro, 153–4
 Basdahl, 169–70, 178
 Basque country, 23
 Basques, 108–9
 Bassantin, James, 201
 Bavaria, 272
 Beåkert, Johan, *see* Bårhårt, Johan
 Beaton, James, Archbishop of Glasgow, 262
 Beauvau, Gabriel de, Bishop of Nantes, 134
 Bederska district, 174
 Bedford, Anne Carr, Countess of, 221
 Belgians, 26
 Behm, family, *see* Bem
 Bellièvre, Pomponne de, seigneur de Grignon?, 128
 Belum, 176
 Bem, John, 73
 Benedict Biscop, Saint, 309
 Benedictines, 263, 268, 297–8, 302, 307–9, 311
 Bennet, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, 317
 Bentivoglio, Guido, 286–7
 Bergen, 21–2, 59
 Bergen op Zoom, Siege of (1622), 251
 Berkeley, Joan, O.S.B., 302
 Berkelius, 98
 Berlin, 188–9
 Bertie, Robert, *see* Earl of Lindsey
 Bérulle, Pierre de, Cardinal, 286
 Bex, Abraham, 45
 Bianchi, Giovanni Battista, 218
 Bible, 247, 303
 Biegańska, Anna, 9
 Bilbao, 21, 23
 Bilbao Acedos, Amaia, 21
Biraben, Conde de, 116
 Birmingham, 316
 Bishops' War, 1st (1639), 186
 Bisset, family, 274
 Black, Jeremy, 11
 Blackness Castle, 203, 212
 Blake, Robert, Admiral, 145, 155
 Blakhal, Gilbert, 188
 Blandt, Hans, 40
 Blasieholmen, island of, 48
 Block, Benjamin, 227
 Boece, Hector, 4
 Bohemia, 26, 185, 188–9, 215, 218, 223–4, 231, 253, 282
 Böhme, Klaus-Richard, 162, 166
 Bohorodzki, Lucas, 73
 Boij, Andrew, 49–50
 Jakob, 51
 Bonneyman, family, 274
 book/books, 12, 39, 209–10, 218–20, 244, 317
 Bordeaux, 24, 126, 128–9, 131, 136–7, 203, 207, 269, 272
 Borkowski, James, 74
 Borlase, Edmund, 249
 John, Sir, 249
 Botte, Phillip, 56
 Bouillon, Duc de, *see* Turenne, Vicomte de
 Bourbon, House of, 229, 232
 Bourges, 19, 199, 201–2
 Bourke, Oliver, O.P., 291
 Bowden, Caroline, 6, 12–3, 25
 Boyd, Robert, of Trochrig, 202, 206–7
 Boyne, Battle of the (1690), 125
 Brabant, 244
 Braddick, Michael J., 16
 Brandenburg, 174
 duke of, 177
 Brandon, John, 291
 Braniewo, *see* Braunsberg
 Braunsberg, 267–8
 Braunschweig-Lüneburg, 174, 177
 duke of, 177
 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 177
 Bremen, 19, 27, 32, 161–80 *passim*.
 Bremervörde, 167, 171–2, 175
 Breslau, 83, 216
 Bridget de Mendanha, O.Ss.S., 313
 Bridgettines, 297, 300, 303, 306, 308–9, 313
 Brill, 249, 254
 Britain, *see* Great Britain
 British, 160
 Catholic colleges, 322
 in Europe, 7, 13, 17–8, 21
 in France, 10, 198, 200
 in Scandinavia, 18
 in Sweden, 38
 migrants, 15, 17–19, 21, 26–7, 137, 173, 181, 198, 200, 319
 North America, 27
 North Atlantic, 16
 religious, 26
 soldiers, 135–6, 241, 245
 Brittany, 5, 21, 24, 125–38 *passim*, 199
 Brno, 272
 Brod, 189
 Brömsebro, Peace of (23 August 1645), 164

- Broun, William, 40
 Brown, Alexander, 269
 Keith, 2, 12–3
 Browne, William, Sir, 243
 Bruce, Robert, 207
 Bruges, 4, 307, 311
 Brun, Antonio, 141
 Brunshausen, 176
 Brunswick, 254
 Brussels, 26, 286–7, 297, 302, 312
 Buchan, Alexander, 38
 family, 36
 William, 72
 Buckinghamshire, 253
 Buda, 71
 Bunge, Mårten, 47, 50
 Burck, regiment of, 122
 Burg, 161
 Burgess, John, 243
 Burgh, John, Sir, 246–7, 255
 Burgundy, 184
 Burke, Peter, 18
 Burnah, John, 71, 74
 Burnet, Albert, 76
 John, 76
 Burycht, Melcher, 73
 Butler, Walter, Colonel, 282
 William, 38
 William F.T., 130
 Buxtehude, 172–3, 175–7, 179
 Byzantium, see Constantinople
- Cádiz, 21, 145, 155, 246, 316
 Caesar, Julius, 219
 Calais, 6
 Calcutte, 6
 Callahan, Eugene, 284, 287
 Calvin, John, 205
 Calvinism/Calvinists, 19, 37, 73, 87–105
 passim., 197–214 *passim.*, 229, 237–58
 passim.
 and the Dutch Republic, 87–105
 passim.
 Scottish, 19, 197–214 *passim.*
- Cambrai, 308–9
 Cambridge, King's College, 145
 Camden, William, 315–6
 Cameron, James, 8
 Campbell, Anne, 190
 Colin, 31–2
 Canin, Isaac, 210
 Canterbury Cathedral, 247
 Capuchins, 295
 Cárdenas, Alonso de, 143–4, 146, 150,
 152, 155, 157–8
- Carducci, 269
 Carew, George, Sir, 127
 Carinthia, 226
 Carlisle, Lucy Hay, Countess of, 221
 Carlo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, 190
 Carmelites, 298, 303, 306
 Carmichael, James, 72, 76
 Carnarvon, Anna Sophia Herbert,
 Countess of, 221
 Castel-Rodrigo, Manuel de Moura,
 Marqués de, 143–4, 283
 Castlemaine, Roger Palmer, 1st Earl of,
 307
 Castile, 107–24 *passim.*, 146, 150–1, 156,
 320
 Catalonia, Catalonians, 121
 Catherine, of Braganza, Queen,
 consort of Charles II, King of
 England, Scotland, and Ireland,
 223, 227
 Catholicism, Catholics, 4, 27, 36, 77,
 110, 112–3, 117, 122, 124, 142–3,
 150–1, 154, 185, 188, 199–201, 213,
 229, 243–5, 253, 255, 257, 279–95
 passim., 297–314 *passim.*, 315–22
 passim.
 British, 20
 colleges, 182, 189
 Dutch, 108
 English, 108, 137
 Irish, 20, 108, 112, 122–3, 125–38
 passim., 143
 Scottish, 84, 137, 199–200, 204,
 261–77
- Catterall, Douglas, 8, 15, 21, 24, 59
 Cecil, Edward, Sir, see Wimbledon,
 Viscount
 Cecilia Renata, Queen, consort of
 Władysław IV, King of Poland, 225,
 276
 Céitinn, Seathrun, see Keating, Geoffrey
 Cerda, Antonio Juan de la, see
 Medinaceli, Duque de
 Chad, Saint, Bishop of Mercia, 317
 Chalcedon, 286
 Chalmer, John, 70, 73
 Chalmers, family, 36
 Chambers, Laurence, 147
 Liam, 10
 Champagne, Philippe de, 229–30
 Charlemagne, Emperor, 4
 Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy, 255
 Charles I, King of England, Scotland
 and Ireland, 26, 92, 130, 137, 141,

- 143, 158, 186, 210, 223–5, 228–9, 232, 252, 276, 299, 303, 307
- Charles II, King of England, Scotland and Ireland, 131, 134, 141–60 *passim*, 161, 168, 171, 223, 225, 227, 229–30, 232–3, 307
- Charles II, King of Spain, 113, 227
- Charles IV, King of Spain, 107
- Charles V, Duke of Lorraine, 227
- Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 5, 113
- Charles IX, King of Sweden, formerly Duke of Södermanland, 35–6, 42
- Charles X Gustav, King of Sweden, 161, 175–6
- Charles XI, King of Sweden, 48, 174
- Charles XII, King of Sweden, 36
- Chartres, 269
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, 11
- Cheb, see Eger
- Chęciny, 75–6
- Childers, 147
- Cholmondeley, Thomas, 15
- Christian IV, King of Denmark and Norway, 163
- Christian V, King of Denmark and Norway, 177
- Christina, Queen of Sweden, 168–9, 171, 176
- Chroborski, Daniel, 73
- Chudново, 184
- Battle of, 191
- Cistercians, 288–90, 292
- Civil War, British, see Wars of the Three Kingdoms
- Claim of Right (1689), 213–4
- Clam-Gallas, Albrecht, Count, 224
- Clotilde, 224
- Clancarty, Donogh MacCarty, 1st Earl of, 131, 134
- Ellen, Countess of, 25
- Clare, of Assisi, Saint, 299
- Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, 142–7, 149, 151–4, 157–60
- Clarke, Aidan, 9
- Claudia Felicitas, Empress, consort of Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, 225–6
- Clement VIII, Pope, 262
- Clement IX, Pope, 154
- Clement, Margaret, O.S.A., 301
- Clerck, Alexander, 49, 52
- Hans, Admiral, 51, 59?
- Jacob, 49, 52–3
- John, Holm-Admiral, 51
- John (Hans) Williamson, Holm-Admiral, 51
- Major, 59
- Richard, Holm-Admiral, 51
- Thomas, 54–5
- Cleveland, 229
- Clitherow, Margaret, 302
- Cockburn, Thomas, 40
- Collegio dei maroniti (Rome, Italy) 283
- Collins, Dominic, 127
- Colloredo, Hieronymus, Graf, 231
- Rudolf, Graf, 231
- Columbanus, 5
- Columbus, Christopher, 110
- Comerford, Patrick, O.S.A., 285, 292
- Commonwealth, 142, 144, 146–7, 149, 155, 159–60
- Comorra, 188
- Comus, 318
- Confederate army, 121
- Confession of Faith (Scottish), 261
- Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, 271, 275, 286, 292, 294–5
- Conn, George, 276–7
- Connacht, 290
- Conry, Florence, O.F.M., 280–1
- Constantinople, 215, 217, 220–1, 316
- Conway, Dorothy, 249
- Edward, 249
- Edward, Sir, 249, 254
- Fulke, 249
- John, Sir, 249
- Thomas, 249
- Thomas, Sir, 249
- Coogan, Tim Pat, 3
- Coolahan, Marie-Louise, 299–300
- Corbett, family of Moreton Corbett, 254
- Captain, 254
- John, Sergeant, 254
- Matthew, 254
- Corbie, Ralph, see Corbington, Ralph
- Robert, see Corbington, Robert
- Corbington, Ambrose, S.J., 318
- Ralph, S.J., 318
- Robert, S.J., 18–9, 315–22 *passim*.
- Cork, 128, 290–2
- Cork, Richard Boyle, Earl of, 129
- Cortes, 123
- Cossacks, 221
- Cottington, Francis Cottington, Baron, 142–7, 149, 151–4, 157–60
- Council of Trent, 268, 312

- Counter-Reformation, 134, 318
 Covenanters, 87–105 *passim.*, 186, 188, 210–1
 Cracow, 17, 67–85 *passim.*, 231, 272, 277
 University, 277
 Craig, Thomas, 201
 Cranstoun regiment, 176
 Crawford, David, Colonel, 191
 Crichton, family, 274
 Robert, 36
 William, S.J., 262, 267
 Croatia, 215
 Cromwell, Oliver, 122, 127, 130–1, 148–9, 155, 157, 162, 176, 300
 Crosse, William, 243
 Crouly, Miles, Sir, 188
 Cullen, Louis, 9
 Cunningham, David, 201
 James, 40
 Cusack, Christopher, 280
 Cyrus, James, 76
 Czartoryski collection, 229–30
 Czech Republic, 6

 Danes, Scoto-, 200
 Danish-Imperial war (*Kejserkrig*), 163
 Danish Sound, 56
 Danish-Swedish War (1643–5), 164
 Danner, Fritz, 162
 Danube River, 188, 220
 Danzig (Gdańsk), 4, 25, 34, 59, 76, 193, 275
 Dauphiné, 203
 Davenport, Christopher, 304
 David, Jacob, 56
 Davidson, Peter, 6, 13–4, 18–20
 Robert, Lieutenant, 176
 William, Dr., 190–4
 Dease, Thomas, Bishop of Meath, 290
 de Burg, William, 120
 de la Gardie, Axel, 46
 Magnus, 173
 Delahoide, Balthazar, 291
 Delap, Andrew, *see* Dunlop, Andrew
 de la Vallée, Jean, 48
 Delft, 207
 Denbigh, Basil Feilding, 2nd Earl of, 243
 William Feilding, 1st Earl of, 243
 Denmark-Norway, 8, 18, 53, 56, 163–4, 175–6, 178, 180–1, 204, 249, 252, 255
 Deventer, 19, 23
 D'Ewes, Simonds, Sir, 254
 Dickson, Elizabeth, *see* Leber, Elizabeth

 Dietrichstein, coats-of-arms, 218–9, 222, 233
 Anna Francesca von, Princess, 215–6
 Clotilde, 224
 Joseph von, Prince, 224
 Maximilian von, Prince, 215
 Princes of, 223–4
 Die, University of, 203
 Dillon regiment, 126
 Ditchburn, David, 7, 182
 Dixon, Albert, 74, 76–7, 81–2
 Alexander, 70–8, 81, 83–4
 Elizabeth, 74, 76, 82
 Eva Susanna, 76–7
 family, 84
 Robert, 74
 Thomas, 82–3
 Dominicans (Order of Preachers), 25–6, 268, 288, 292
 Donaldson, Walter, 201
 Dorislaus, Isaac, 148
 Dort, 210
 Dorstadt, 272
 Douai, 199, 262–3, 265, 267, 271–2, 274–7, 279, 321
 Douglas, family, 274
 John, 243
 Robert, 48, 51, 59, 167–70, 173
 Dover, 229
 Down and Connor, Diocese of, 285, 290
 Downey, Declan, 10–1, 107
 Dresden, 188–9
 Dress, Andre, 45
 Barbera Maria, 45
 Drogheda, 129, 291
 Dromondt, James, 71
 Drummond, David, Major-General, 39
 Johan, 179
 Joseph, 269
 Dublin, 127, 129, 285–6, 288–9, 291–2, 318
 Castle, 6
 Dukes, Paul, 9
 Duer, David, 74, 80
 Duff, Alexander, 80
 Duglieth, Elizabeth, *see* Dixon, Elizabeth
 and Russell, Elizabeth
 Nicholas, 76
 Duncan, Andrew, 74, 80, 203–4, 207
 Dundalk, 291
 Dundee, 32
 Blasius, 34–7, 40
 Dunfermline, 80

- Dunken, Andrew, 84
 Dunkirk, 272, 299
 Dunlop, Andrew, 92
 Durham, 319
 Durie, John, 97, 205, 208
 Robert, 203–6
 Düring, Dietrich von, Colonel, 175
 Dutch, 33–5, 37, 220, 301
 armies, 241, 243–52, 254, 256
 in London, 17
 in Sweden, 41, 44–7, 56–8, 60
 Dutch Reformed Church, 87–105
 passim.
 Dutch Republic, 5, 7–8, 15, 20, 33, 47,
 53, 87–105 *passim*., 155–6, 173, 181,
 194, 199–201, 231, 242–4, 247–50,
 252–3, 263
 Dutch Revolt, 12, 90
 Duvergier de Hauranne, Jean, 286
- Eadburga, Saint, 309
 Easter Ross, 19
 Ebenstein, Ernst, 226
 Eden, Margaretha, 45
 Edinburgh, 82, 269, 274
 Castle, 187
 Treaty of (1560), 261
 education, 8, 10, 19, 101, 105, 107, 131,
 145, 160, 187, 193, 199–203, 205, 208,
 212–3, 247, 261–77 *passim*., 279–95
 passim., 297, 304–7, 318–21
 Edward VI, King of England, 316
 Eger, 215
 Eichberg, Henning, 162
 Einonen, Piia, 42
 Elber River, 164
 Elbing, 32, 34
 ‘Eldrede’, Saxon queen, 309
 Eleonora Gonzaga of Mantua, Empress,
 consort of Ferdinand II, Holy Roman
 Emperor, 226
 Eleonora Maria Józefa Wiśniowiecka,
 Queen, consort of Michał Korybut
 Wiśniowiecki, King of
 Poland-Lithuania, 227
 Elfrida, Queen, consort of Edgar, King
 of England, 309
 Elisabeth, Countess Palatine, 276
 Elizabeth I, Queen of England, 7, 127,
 280, 302–4, 316, 322
 Elisabeth, of France, Queen, consort of
 Philip IV, King of Spain, 157
 Elizabeth, Queen, consort of Frederick I,
 King of Bohemia, 162, 185, 244, 246,
 251–2, 254, 276
 Elliott, John H., 11
 Emzle, George, 71, 74–5, 81
 England, 1–3, 6–7, 11, 13, 15–6, 20,
 25–6, 41, 44, 47, 53–4, 59, 109, 115–6,
 124, 126–7, 129, 136–7, 141–60
 passim., 200, 204, 228–9, 237–58
 passim., 262, 272, 279, 297–314
 passim., 315–22 *passim*.
 Church of, 245, 317
 relations with Europe, 6, 9, 11
 relations with France, 12
 relations with Ireland, 9
 relations with Portugal, 6–7, 148–9
 relations with Scotland, 2
 relations with Spain, 141–60 *passim*.
 relations with the Dutch Republic, 7
 English, 6, 38, 108, 137, 203, 221, 288,
 297–314 *passim*.
 armies, 158, 237–58 *passim*.
 Catholic colleges, 158, 279, 283,
 315–6, 318–22
 in Europe, 13, 18, 24
 in France, 12, 137, 200
 in Ireland, 16
 in Scotland, 16
 in Spain, 25, 141–60 *passim*.
 in Spanish Netherlands, 25
 in Sweden, 36, 38, 41, 56–8
 in the Dutch Republic, 20, 95, 98, 203
 Ladies, 297, 305, 314
 migrants/migration, 1–2, 6, 13, 16,
 18–9, 24, 237–58 *passim*.
 Navigation Acts, 47
 Old, 115, 120, 129–33
 Parliamentarians, 141–60 *passim*., 316
 puritans, 20, 237–58 *passim*.
 religious, 19, 27, 297–314 *passim*.,
 315–6
 Republic, 134, 141–60 *passim*.
 Republicans, 141–60 *passim*.
 Royalists, 141–60 *passim*.
 saints, 309
 Enlightenment, 4
 Enriquez de Villegas, Diego, 117
 Enzie, Earl of, see Huntly, Marquis of
 Eochaidh, King of Ireland, 4
 Episcopacy, 101, 197–8, 205–7, 210, 212
 Erastianism, 211
 Erfurt, 263, 265
 Errol, Francis Hay, 9th Earl of, 26

- Erskein, Alexander von, 165–71, 173,
175–6, 178–80
Alexander, Baron and Lieutenant
Colonel, 179
Carl Gustav, Lieutenant Colonel, 179
family, 166, 179–80
Erschine, Alexander, 201–2
Henry, 202
see Mar, Earls of
Eschen, Alexander see Erskein,
Alexander von
Eson, John, 92
Essex, 252
Essex, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of, 316
Estonia, 269, 275
ethnicity, 15, 18, 21, 23, 27, 31, 67–85
passim., 88–9, 103, 133, 135, 241–2,
298, 301, 305–14
Eton College, 145
Eu, 230
Europe, 1–4, 6, 12–3, 18–9, 21–2, 33, 35,
59–60, 104, 113–4, 126, 132, 141, 144,
160, 181–94 *passim.*, 199, 215, 220–1,
227–8, 230–1, 237–58 *passim.*, 261–77
passim., 280, 303, 315–22 *passim.*
Central, 6, 26, 125, 182, 216, 222, 230,
241, 267–8, 272
Eastern, 26, 125
Northern, 101, 182, 190, 191
Southern, 182
Europeans, 15, 17
Evangelical Union, 254
Evangelicals, 72, 76–8, 84
Everard, Joseph, O.F.M., 291
'Evil May Day', 17
Extremadura, 119–20

Fairfax, Thomas, Sir, 253
William, 253
Fallon, Malachy, O.F.M., 282
Marcus, 127
Faninn, Samuel, 21
Feilding, see Earls of Denbigh
Feldkirchen, 226
Felton, family, 303
Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor,
215
Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor,
215, 223, 225–6, 231–2
Ferdinand V, King of Spain, 109
Ferdinand Maria, Elector of Bavaria,
224, 228, 232
Fiedler, Beate-Christine, 162
Fife, Carl, 50
family, 39
Henry, 48
James, 46, 49
Fifth Monarchy, 98
Finch, see Winchilsea, Earl of
Finistère, 133
Fisher, George, 145, 147–51, 155,
159–60
Fitzgerald, Patrick, 129
Fitzjames, 137
Arabella, 307–8
Fitzroy, Barbara, 307
Flanders, 119, 122, 128, 184, 204, 257,
279–81, 284, 286, 300–2, 304, 311–2
Fleming, John, 102
Robert, 101
Thomas, O.F.M., Archbishop of
Dublin, 285, 289, 292
Flemings, 109, 148, 275, 306
in London, 17
in Spain, 124
Flight of the Earls (1607), 127
Flushing, 7, 243, 245
Foissott, Francois, 144–5, 155
Foncanot, Charles, 269
Fontainebleau, 230
Forbes, Alexander, Lieutenant General,
171, 173, 175
Alexander, 11th Lord Forbes, 169
Alexander 'Arvid', 51, 59
Anna, 74
Daniel, 78, 80
Eva, 72
family, 36, 274
John, 72–3, 75, 80, 82, 203–7, 209
John, Colonel, 54
John, of Corse, 208
Marie, 171
Patrick, Bishop of Aberdeen, 204
regiment, 174
Sophia, 25, 46–7, 50
Thomas, 70, 74–5, 81
William, 72–4, 161, 169–75, 178
Forbeses, 274
Ford, James, 284
Fordyce, family, 274
Forfar, 46
Forgun, John, 93
Robert, 93, 97, 100
Forsyth, Andrew, 32
France, 3–6, 9–10, 12, 19, 24, 33, 46,
109, 112, 121–2, 125–38 *passim.*,
143–4, 151–2, 154, 157, 160, 177, 181,
183–94, 197–214 *passim.*, 229–32,

- 245, 250–2, 262, 268–9, 271–2, 276–7, 285–6
 Northern, 265
 Franciscans, 19, 122, 145, 268, 279–95
passim., 298, 302, 304
 Franeker, 200
 Frankowicz, Lucas, 73
 Fraser, family, 274
 James, 20, 263
 John, 269
 Simon, 32
 Fraserburgh, 32
 Frederick I, King of Bohemia, 162, 251, 253, 276
 Frederick III, King of Denmark and Norway, 163–4, 175
 Frederick V, Elector Palatine, see Frederick I, King of Bohemia
 Freemasons, 33
 French, 120, 246
 in London, 17
 in Sweden, 45
 Reformed Church, 207
 religious, 306
 Revolution, 108, 137, 262
 Friedland Castle, see Frýdlant Castle
 herzog von, see Wallenstein, Albrecht
 Friedrich, Johann, Archbishop of Bremen, 163–4
 Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, 189
 Friesach, 226
 Frisia, 76
Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, 19, 168–9
 Frýdlant Castle, 223–5, 228–30
 Fryze, Andrew, 78
 Further Reformation, the, 102
- Gaels, 5, 19, 115, 129–30, 133, 280, 320
 Galicia, 5, 21, 25, 150
 Galloping Girls, 297
 Galloway, John, 269
 Galway, 17, 129, 300
 Games, Alison, 12, 18
 Gardin, Robert, 57
 Gardner, Ginny, 8, 89, 100
 Garnet, family, 303
 Gaul, 5
 Gdańsk see Danzig
 Geltens, Thomas Ludwig, 72
 General Assembly, 197, 203, 210–1, 213
 Geneva, 200
 Genoa, 72
- Genoese, 112
 in Spain, 124
 George I, King of Great Britain, 180
 Geraldine, James, 119
 German/Germans, 22, 33–4, 41
 Catholic college, 262
 in Poland, 70, 75–6, 78, 82, 85
 in Spain, 119
 in Sweden, 41, 57–8, 60
 territories, 178, 188
 Germany, 6, 22–3, 33, 39, 53, 83, 184, 189, 242, 247, 272, 277
 Northern, 161–80 *passim.*, 188
 Southern, 263
 Gertt, Jöran, 37
 Ghent, 307, 310
 Gib, John, 55
 Giblin, Cathaldus, 10
 Gillespie, George, 97
 Girona, 121
 Gladstones, George, Archbishop of St Andrews, 204
 Glasgow, 210–1
 University, 202
 Glend, Thomas, 38
 Glorious Revolution (1688–9), 187, 233, 312, 314
 Glozier, Matthew, 9
 Golden Fleece, 219, 233
 Order of the, 215–7, 219–20
 Gonzaga, Maria see Montferrat, Duchess of
 Gordon, Anne, 188
 Catherine, 25, 189–92, 194
 family, 274
 Francis, 191
 George, Lord Gordon, 184–5, 187, 194
 Henrietta, Lady, 193
 Henry, Lord, 184, 189–92, 194
 James, Lord Aboyne, 188, 193
 James, of Rothiemay, 186
 James, S.J., 188
 John, 76
 Margaret, of Aberfeldy and Grandholme, 271
 Patrick, 83, 191
 Patrick, of Auchleuchries, 191, 268
 Patrick, of Ruthven, 184–7
 Robert, 193
 see also Earls and Marquises of Huntly
 Gordons, 27, 181–94 *passim.*, 274

- Gothenburg, 21, 24, 31–4, 47–8, 55–6, 59
 Gough, Mary, O.S.C., 311
 Grace, Colonel, 121
 Gradisca, War of, 255
 Graham, James, see Montrose, Marquis of
 Grand Tour, 10, 18, 188, 199, 254
 Grants, 274
 Gravelines, 299, 304, 311
 Gray, Andrew, 40
 Graz, 216, 222
 Great Britain, 1–2, 16, 18, 126, 149, 160, 183, 186, 213, 237–8, 257, 315–22 *passim*.
 relations with Sweden, 58
 Great Northern War (1700–21), 180
 Greek mythology, 218–9, 221–3
 Greenbury, Catherine, O.F.M., 302
 Gregory I, Pope, 309
 Gregory XIII, Pope, 262
 Greifswald, 165
 Greirson, John, 269
 Dom., 272
 Griffini, Thomas, 145–8, 150
 Grim, William, 78–9
 Gripsholm, 226
 Grisy, College of, 262
 Groningen, University of, 200, 205
 Grosjean, Alexia, 7–9, 21, 40, 47, 132, 161, 172, 176, 178
 Grotius, Hugo, 23
 Gualdo Priorato, Galeazzo, conte, 220, 226
 Gubbert, Maria, 37
 Gudbrandsdalen, 22–3
 Guistiniani, 154
 Guilday, Peter, 12, 301
 Guillim, John, 146–7
 Guise, Henri, duc de, 262
 Gustav II Adolph, King of Sweden, 33, 163–4, 275
 Guthrie, Georg, 179
 George, 47, 51
 John, 36–7, 55, 78

 Habenhausen, Peace of (14 November 1666), 174
 Habsburg/Habsburgs, 126, 185, 215–36 *passim*., 255, 257, 276, 282
 Austrian, 9, 215–36 *passim*.
 Spanish, 9, 11
 territories, 127, 182, 215–36 *passim*.

 Hague, 141, 148
 Haide, John, 75
 Haijock, Alexander, 39
 Hairt, William, 207
 Hakowic, George, 74
 Hallett, Nicky, 303
 Halliday, family, 39
 William, 53–4, 57
 Halmstad, 53
 Halsal, John, 146
 Hamburg, 21, 57–8, 167–8, 172–3
 Hamilton, Archibald, Archbishop of Cashel, 205
 Antoine, 136
 colonel, 59
 D., Colonel, 177, 179
 family, 36, 39, 134
 Hugo, Colonel, 177
 John, 201
 Matthew, 269, 276
 regiment, 126, 131, 134
 Hammersmith, 305
 Hannay, Charles, 39
 Hanni, Karl, see Hannay, Charles
 Hanover, House of, 180
 Hanseatic, merchants, 22
 towns, 173, 269
 Harcourt, Simon, 253
 Hardwood, Edward, Sir, Lieutenant Colonel, 243, 247–8, 255
 Harnet, William, see Arnet, William
 Harovník, Fabián Václav, 218–9
 Harrach, Ernst Adalbert von, Cardinal, Archbishop of Prague, 282
 Harris, Paul, 288–9, 292–4
 Harrison, William, 6
 Hart, Andro, 209–10
 Harwood, Edward, 244
 Hasley, John, see Halsal, John, 146
 Hawley, Susan, 310
 Hay, Francis, see Errol, Earl of
 Isabella, Lady, 26
 James, 37–8
 Hayes, Richard F., 10
 Hebrides, 16, 321
 Heckscher, E.F., 34–5
 Heerma van Voss, Lex, 13
 Heggat, Archibald, 269
 Heide, John, 80
 Heidelberg, 251
 Henderson, Gilbert, 72
 James, 44
 John, 100–1
 William, 72, 74, 80

- Henrietta Maria of France, Queen, consort of Charles I, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 130, 223–5, 228, 230, 236 (illus.), 276, 303–4, 307
- Henry IV, King of France, 127, 223–5, 229–30, 232
- Henry VIII, King of England, 294, 316, 322
- Henry, Gráinne, 21, 23, 26
- Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, 245, 248, 252–3
- Hepburn, Colonel, 204
- heraldry, 217–20, 222–3, 233
- Herberstein, Christine Crescentia von, 216, 221
- Counts of, 221
- Herbert,
 Charles, of Montgomeryshire, 250
 Edward, of Cherbury, 250–1, 253, 255
 family, 250
 family of Montgomery Castle, 250
 Gerard, Sir, 251
 Henry, 251
 Henry, Sir, 251
 Matthew, 250
 Richard, 251, 256
 Thomas, 251
 William, 251, 255–6
 William, see Pembroke, Earl of
- Hereford, 317
- Herzog, Tamar, 110, 112
- Hexham, Henry, 244–5
- Heydon, Christopher, Sir, 251–2
 Edward, 252
 family, 251–2
 Henry, 252
 John, 251–2
 William, 252
 William, Sir, 252
- Hibernia, 5
- Highlanders (Scotland), 19, 320
- Highlands (Scotland), 281, 320–1
- Hog, John, 88, 100–3
- Hogan, James, 5
- Holland, 156, 159, 203, 286
- Holles, George, Sir, 244
 John, 248
 John, Sir, 244, 248
 Thomas, 244–5
- Holy Cross Abbey, 290
- Holy League, 127
- Holy Office, 286, 295
- Holy Roman Empire, 113, 165, 174, 215, 217–8, 226, 232
- Holy Trinity, 222
- Hopton, Ralph, Baron Hopton, 244, 246
- Horn, Henrik, General Governor, 177, 179
 Thomas, 38
- Hosius, Stanislaus, Archbishop of Ermland, 267
- Hospital of San Andres, 148
- House of Commons, 256
- Houston, Rab, 89
- Hughes, Ann, 24
 Griffith, 18
- Huguenot, institutions, 19
- Huguenots, 242, 245, 247, 250–1, 253
 French, 198, 201, 203, 213
 in England, 17, 198
- Hume, John, 209
- Hungary, 6, 71, 188
- Hunter, Andrew, 80
 family, 36
- Huntly, earls of, 190
 George Gordon, 4th Marquis of, 184–5, 187–9, 192, 194
 George Gordon, 6th Earl and 1st Marquis of, 183, 187–8, 192
 George Gordon, Earl of Enzie and 2nd Marquis of, 183–93
 House of, 194
 Lewis Gordon, 3rd Marquis of, 184–6, 192
- Huyson, William, 78
- Hyde, Edward, see Earl of Clarendon
- Iberian Peninsula, 10–1, 112, 121, 145–6, 304
- Inchiquin, Murrough O'Brien, Earl of, 125, 130–1
- India, 6
- Innes, David, Bishop of Moray, 262
 James, S.J., 272
 John, S.J., 272
- Innocent X, Pope (1644–55), 154, 290
- Invernizi, Carlo Francisco, 287
- Ireland, 1–5, 7, 9–10, 16, 21, 25, 114–5, 122, 126, 134, 141–2, 144, 149, 155, 186, 200, 265, 279–95 *passim.*, 298–300, 315–22 *passim.*
 Church of, 293
 plantations in, 16, 129–30, 133
- Irenicism, 208
- Irish, 7, 13–4
 brigades, 125
 Catholic colleges/seminaries, 129, 131–3, 137–8, 269, 322
 Confederates, 141
 Franciscans, 279–95 *passim.*
 in England, 129

- in Europe, 13, 17–8, 21, 23, 279–95 *passim*.
- in Flanders, 128
- in France, 10, 19, 23–4, 121–2, 125–38 *passim*.
- in Habsburg territories, 127
- in London, 17, 128
- in Scandinavia, 18
- in Spain, 23–5, 27, 107–24 *passim*., 127–8, 132, 144–5
- in Spanish dependencies, 19, 23
- in Spanish Netherlands, 25–6
- in Sweden, 38
- in the Americas, 128
- Jacobites, 126, 137–8
- migrants, 15, 19–21, 23, 27, 126, 181
- religious, 268, 299–300, 306
- soldiers, 19, 23, 146, 155, 237–9, 241, 258
- Irving, Alexander, 174–5
- Isabel Clara Eugenia, Infanta of Spain, 26
- Isabella I, Queen of Spain, 109
- Isham, John, 249
- Islam, 118
- Isles, Northern, 22 (see also Orkney and Shetland)
- Istanbul, see Constantinople
- Italians, 73, 75, 284
 - in Poland, 85
 - in Spain, 119
 - in the Holy Roman Empire, 218
- Italy, 33, 182, 188, 200, 269, 272, 317
- Jacobites, 123, 137–8
- James VI and I, King of Scotland, England, and Ireland, 127, 130, 197–8, 202, 204, 252, 262
- James VII and II, King of Scotland, England, and Ireland, 125, 127, 137, 145, 307–8, 312, 314
- Jamson, Albert, 80
- Jan II Kazimierz, King of Poland, 190
- Jans, Lysbeth, 97
- Jansen, Cornelius, 281–2, 286
- Jenisz, Gasper, 81
- Jennies, Gasper, see Jenisz, Gasper
- Jesuitesses, 297
- Jesuits (The Society of Jesus), 251–2, 263, 265, 267–8, 271–7, 279–80, 282–7, 290, 295, 315–22 *passim*.
- Jews, 15, 80, 89
- Joel, Albert, 71
 - Regina, 71
- Johann Friedrich of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf, 163
- John III, King of Sweden, 35
- John IV, King of Portugal, 145, 148–9
- John, of Austria, 121
- Johnston, Andrew, 81
- Jones, James, 80
- Jonzac, 203
- Joshua (Biblical figure), 244–5
- Josselin, Ralph, 6
- Juana, la Loca, Queen of Castile, 109
- Julian, of Norwich, 308
- Jung, Albert, see Gilbert below
 - Gilbert, 74
- Justice Mills, Battle of (September 1644), 186
- Kafka, Franz, 225
- Kalmar regiment, 174
- Kaplan, Ben, 96
- Karl V, Duke of Lothringen, see Charles V, Duke of Lorraine
- Karl IX, King of Sweden, see Charles IX
- Karl X, King of Sweden, see Charles X
 - Gustav, King of Sweden
- Karl XI, King of Sweden, see Charles XI
- Karl XII, King of Sweden, see Charles XII
- Karniowski, Christopher, 73
- Kay, Billy, 3
- Kazimierz, 68, 75
- Keating, Geoffrey, 5
- Keblusek, Marika, 12
- Keith, Andrew, 40
 - Andrew, Sir, 35–6
- Kene, Janet, 210
- Kent, 253
- Kicki, Thomas Casmir, 72
- Kilkenny, Confederation of, 119–20
- Kilian, Lucas, 217
- Kilkenny, 287–8, 292
- Killaloe, 284, 287
- Kilmacduagh, 291
- Kin, Albert, 71, 75, 80–2
 - Anna, 74–5, 82–3
 - family, 84
 - Gasper, 74–5, 81
 - James, 76
 - Leonard, 76, 82
- King, Gasper, 72
 - Gilbert, 72–3
 - Leonard, see Kin, Leonard
- Kinge, Anna, 74
- Kinnaird, Johan, 179

- Kinnemond, family, 36
 John, 58, 193
 Robert, 45, 51
 Kinsale, battle of (1601), 114, 124, 127
 Kirk, James, 210
 Kleparz, 68, 72, 75
 Knatchbull, Mary, O.S.B., 307, 310
 Knollys, Henry, 252
 Robert, Sir, 252
 Thomas, Sir, 252
 Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, Franz Karl von, 231
 König, Albert, see Gilbert King
 Königsmark, Hans Christoph von, General and General Governor, 164, 166, 172, 174
 Kowalski, Waldemar, 9, 17, 26
 Krautsand, Island, 172
 Krupka, Albert, 80
 Kungsholmen parish, 36

 Laber, Andrew, 73
 La Coruña, 25, 116
 Lager-Kromnow, Birgitta, 57
 Lally, Thomas-Arthur, comte de, 137
 Lamentan, Andrew, 40
 Lanarkshire, 209
 language, 3, 12, 15, 17–8, 20, 35, 67, 81–3, 85, 114, 134–5, 152, 209, 246, 272, 297–314 *passim.*, 315, 317–22
 Breton, 134
 Cornish, 321
 Dutch, 302, 311, 320
 English, 20, 209, 245, 300, 308, 311, 317–8, 320–1
 Flemish, 302
 French, 135, 202, 299, 302, 311
 Gaelic, 19, 83, 317, 320–1
 German, 19, 82–3, 188, 320
 Greek, 265
 Hebrew, 265
 Irish, 19, 300, 318–9
 Italian, 272
 Latin, 81–2, 135, 153, 217, 265, 308, 318
 Polish, 81–3
 Portuguese, 311
 Scots, 19, 81–3, 317–21
 Spanish, 114–8, 143, 153
 translation, 66, 82, 104, 112, 153, 245, 272, 276, 299–300, 302, 308, 311
 Welsh, 317–9, 321
 La Rochelle, 132, 197, 203, 207, 213, 246

 Lauderdale, John Maitland, 2nd Earl of, 192
 Lazarists (or Vincentians, Congregation of Priests of the Mission), 268
 Leask, family, 275
 Leber, Elizabeth, see Elizabeth Dixon
 Le Croisic, 136
 Lee, John, 279
 Le Grand, Albert, see Albertus, Magnus
 Lehe district, 174
 Leiden, 200, 209
 Scottish Reformed Church in, 203
 Leifer, Paul, 6
 Leighlin, 290
 Leinster, 279
 Leipzig, 83, 188
 Leith, 40, 203
 Leijonanker, Daniel, see Young, Daniel
 Henrik, 59
 Leitrim plantation, 129–30
 Lely, Peter, 228
 Lennard, Sampson, 245, 253
 Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, 216–7, 223, 225–8, 230, 232, 234 (illus.)
 Leopold Wilhelm, Archduke of Austria, 230
 L'Escalopier, Baron de, 134
 Lesley, see Leslie
 Leslie, Alexander, 167, 169, 182, 186, 216, 218, 221–3, 230
 Andrew, 272
 Carl Cajetan, 224
 coats-of-arms, 219–20, 222, 233
 Elizabeth, 167
 family, 182, 215–36 *passim.*, 274
 James, 216–9, 221–3, 225–6, 230, 232–3
 James Ernst, 224–5, 233
 John, 10th Baron of Balquhain, 215
 John, Bishop of Ross, 262
 Louise, 224
 Maria Theresa, 224
 Walter, 215–23, 225–6, 230–1, 233
 William, 224, 269, 272, 275–7
 William Aloysius, S.J., 216, 222–3, 230
Leslie-hof, 216
 Leslies of Balquhain, 218
 of Rothes, 218
 Levellers, 148
 Lewis, Isle of, 16
 Libberton, 209
 Libertinism, 96, 99
 Lichten, Robert, Major General, 54

- Liechtenstein, House of, 222
 coat-of-arms, 222
 Princess of, see Maria Theresia
 Liège, 306, 310
 Lillie, Axel, 168
 Limerick, 291–2
 Lindsey, Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby
 de Eresby and 1st Earl of, 248, 255
 Lindsey, Peter, see Lindze, Peter
 Lindze, Peter, 81
 Lisbon, 145, 148, 155, 279–80, 297, 300,
 306, 308–9, 313, 316
 Lisle, Sir Robert Sidney, Viscount, 243,
 245
 Little, Patrick, 10
 Livingston, John, 89
 Livonia, 275
 Lobkowitz, Marie Elisabeth Apollonia
 (Countess of Tilly), 218
 Wenzel Eusebius, Fürst von, 218–9
 Logan, Ensign, 40
 Lolland (Laaland Island), 19
 Lombard, Peter/Pierre, 5, 221
 London, 16–8, 33, 56, 58, 128, 143–5,
 148, 155, 158, 185, 209, 229, 249, 265,
 272, 276, 300, 305, 319
 Tower of, 197
 Longford, 129
 Long Parliament, 250, 254–5
 Loretto, 317–9
 Lorraine, 184
 Philippe Emmanuel de, see Mercœur,
 Duc de
 Louis XIII, King of France, 183, 185,
 188, 201, 224–5, 230, 232
 Louis XIV, King of France, 131, 177,
 190, 230
 Louvain, 281–2, 286–7, 293, 301–3, 307,
 313
 Louvre, 229
 Low Countries, 4, 21, 25, 91, 151, 241,
 265, 269, 272, 281
 Lower Saxony, 165
 Lowlands (Scotland), 320
 Lübeck, 34, 42
 Peace of (1629), 163
 Lublin, 71
 Palatinate, 69
 Union of (1569), 26
 Lucassen, Jan, 21
 Leo, 21
 Ludlow, 317
 Ludovisi, Ludovico, Cardinal, 283–4
 Ludwig, Dutch painter, 220
 Lundie, Jacob, 171–2, 175
 William, 176, 179
 Lutherans, 36–7, 71, 189
 Lützen, 164
 Luyckx, Frans, 225–6
 Lvov, 78
 Lyll, Adam, 44, 48, 50, 57
 Adam Henriksson, 46
 Alexander, 200
 David, 44–5, 57
 David, junior, 45–6
 Emerentia, 25, 47, 50
 family, 36, 39, 44–5, 57, 193
 Henry, 44, 57
 James, 44–5, 48, 50, 57
 Johan, 49
 Lyceum Hosianum, 267
 Lyon, 24, 188, 272
 family, 274
 Lyons, Mary Ann, 10, 21
 Łyszkowic, Vincent, 75
 Maastricht, Siege of (June 1632), 247–8
 (June 1673), 184
 MacBreck, John, S.J., 272, 276–7
 Mac Cuarta, Brian, 129
 MacDonnel, Randal, 290
 Macdougall, Norman, 3
 MacDowel, William, 205
 MacEarlan, John, 107
 MacGeoghegan, James, 138
 Macinnes, Allan I., 7
 Mackay's regiment, 19, 174
 MacKiernan, Thomas, 287
 Mackillop, Andrew, 8
 Maclean, family, 38
 James, 37–8, 49
 John, 55
 Roderick, 269
 Macpherson, John, 39–40
 Madrid, 24, 141–7, 149–50, 152–5, 199,
 262–3, 265, 271–2, 289, 303
 Magdeburg, 188–9
 Magennis, Hugh, O.F.M., Bishop of
 Down and Connor, 285, 290
 Maierhoffer, Isaac, 71
 Mair, Johann Ulrich, 228
 Maistertoun, 39
 Maitland, John, see Lauderdale, Earl of
 Majerus, Pascal, 311
 Malines, 281
 Mantua, 73

- Mamora, 120
 Mantegna, Andrea, 219
Maori, 15
 Mar, Charles Erskine, Earl of, 165–6, 180
 John Erskine, Earl of, 201–2
 Marche, 317
 Margarita Teresa, Infanta of Spain, Empress, consort of Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, 223, 225–6
 Marguerite, Queen, consort of Henry IV, King of France, 134
 Maria Anna, Infanta of Spain, Empress, consort of Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor, 223, 225–6, 235 (illus.), 252, 303
 Maria Ludwika, Queen, consort of Jan II Kazimierz, King of Poland, 190
 Mariana de Austria, Queen, consort of Philip IV, King of Spain, 223, 227
 Maria Theresia, Princess of Liechtenstein, 216, 226
 Marie de Médicis, Queen, consort of Henry IV, King of France, 188
 Marjoribanks, George, 57
 Markowski, Albert, 80
 Maronite College, see Collegio dei maroniti
 Marseilles, 272
 Marston, 147
 Martin V, Pope, 3
 Mary, Blessed Virgin, Saint, 218
 Mary I, Queen of England, 109, 289, 300
 Mary, of Modena, Queen, consort of James VII and II, King of Scotland, England, and Ireland, 308, 311–2
 Mary, Queen of Scots, 261–2
 Mary Ward Institute, 297
 Sisters, 297, 304–5, 314
 Matthews, Eugene, Archbishop of Dublin, 285, 287
 Maunoir, Julien, S.J., 134
 Maxell, David, 80
 Maxwell, Colin, 40
 Mazarin, Jules, Cardinal, 143, 156
 Mazovia, 72
 McCarthy, Justin, 134
 McGurk, John, 10
 McNally, Tom, 20, 26, 182
 McLaren, Peter, 14
 McWard, Robert, 100–1
 Meath, 280, 290, 294
 Medinaceli, Antonio Juan de la Cerda, Duque de, 145
 Mediterranean Region, 182
 Medrykova, Petra, 224
 Mehmed IV, Sultan of the Turks, 217, 221
 Meldrum, Alexander, 269
 Mellifont Abbey, 290
 Melo, Francisco de, 151
 Melville, Andrew, 197–8, 201–2, 205–14
 James, 205–6, 208
 Melvillianism, 211, 214
 Méndez de Haro, Luis, 143, 151, 154, 158, 160
 Menzies, brothers, 274
 family, 274
 John, 269, 271
 Thomas, Lieutenant-Colonel, 191
 Thomas, of Balgannie, 271
 Merchant Adventurers, 97
 Mercia, 317
 Mercœur, Philippe Emmanuel deLorraine, Duc de, 127
 Miagh, James, 292
 Robert, 292
 Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, King of Poland, 225, 227, 232
 Michel, Edouard, 229
 James, 80
 John, 80
 Thomas, 80
 Michey, Thomas, 42
 Middelburgh, 203
 Middle Temple, 254
 Mielec, 72
 Mijers, Esther, 8
 Milan, 117
 Milesius, 5, 118, 124
 Miller, James, 8
 Millett, Benignus, 10
 Milton, John, 318
 Młodzianowski, John, 73
 Moldavians, 221
 Molyneux, William, 132
 Momma-Reenstierna, family, 44–5, 58
 Jacob, 46–7
 Monmouthshire, 306, 317
 Monro, Robert, Colonel, 182, 186, 205
 Mont-de-Piété, 312
 Montagu, Ralph Montagu, 1st Duke of, 307
 Montauban, 201–2
 Monterrey, Manuel de Acevedo y Zúñiga, Conde de, 156
 Montferrat, Maria Gonzaga, Duchess of, 276
 Montmartine, Monsieur, 207

- Montrose, James Graham, 1st Marquis of, 186–7, 194
 Montserrat, 129
 Mooney, Donagh, O.F.M., 291
 Moore, Michael, O.F.M., 291
 Mora, John, 71, 73, 80, 82
 Morales, Óscar Recio, 5
 Morbihan, 133
 More, family, 301
 Margareta, 177–8
 Patrick, Major General, 51, 172–3, 176–80
 Moreda, Diego de, 145, 147
 Moriscos, 15
 Morlaix, 24, 131, 135
 Mornay, Philippe de, seigneur du Plessis-Marly, 245
 Morrison, James, 68
 Martin, 68
 Morsztyn, Jan Andrzej, 190
 Moura, Manuel de see Castel-Rodrigo, Marqués de
 Muir, Captain, 40
 William, 92, 100–1
 Munster, 16, 128–30, 132, 279, 286, 292–3
 Münster, 141, 174
 bishop of, 177
 Murdoch, Steve, 2, 7–9, 12–3, 17, 19, 21, 24–5, 132, 205
 Murtagh, Hermann, 10
 Muscovy, 6
 Muskerry regiment, 131
 Viscount, see Clancarty, Earl of

 Náchod, 218
 Näf, Jacob, see Neave, James
 Nancy, 272
 Nantes, 24, 131–4, 137
 Edict of, 229
 Naples, 146, 272
 Narva, 32
 National Covenant (1638), 95, 99, 208, 210–2, 214
 Navarre, 229
 Neave, James, 35–6
 Nesmyth, James, 269, 276
 Robert, 96–8
 Netherlands, see Dutch Republic
 Netherlands, Spanish, 23, 25, 262–3, 267
 Netherlands, Francis, Sir, 246
 Neustadt an der Mettau, see Nové Město nad Metují
 Neville, Anne, O.S.B., 311–2

 Newbury, 1st Battle of (September 1643), 186
 New Julfa, 89
 New Testament, 209–10
 New World, see America
 New Zealand, 15
 Newry Abbey, 290
 Nicholas, Edward, Sir, 152
 Niesebeth, family, 32
 Nine Years War, 280
 Ninneghen, 272
 Nördlingen, Battle of (6 September 1634), 164
 North, Dudley North, 3rd Baron, 250
 Dudley North, 4th Baron, 249–50
 George, 250
 Henry, 250
 John, 250
 Roger North, 2nd Baron, 250
 Thomas, 250
 Northern War, 2nd, 184
 Norfolk, 251
 North Sea, 104, 181
 Norway, 4, 22, 59
 Nové Město nad Metují, 215, 217–8, 222, 225, 231
 Nugent, Robert, 290
 Nürnberg, 71, 83, 169, 226
Nürnberg Exekutionstag (1649), 166
 Nyköping, 39

 Oberpettau, 215
 O'Brien, Murrough, see Inchiquin, Earl of
 O'Bryan, Dermond, 18
 O'Callaghan, J.C., 125, 138
 Ó Ciosáin, Éamon, 10, 23–4
 Ó Conaill, Colm, 10
 O'Connell, Patricia, 11
 O'Connor, Thomas, 10, 13, 19, 26
 O'Donnell, Mary Stuart, 26
 O'Donoghue, Rodrigo, 137
 O'Driscoll, Antonio, 116
 Daniel, 116
 family, 116–7
 lord of Castlehaven, 114, 116
 Offaly, 129
 Ogle, John, Sir, 243, 246
 Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg, 10
 Ohlmeyer, Jane, 10, 13
 Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde-Duque de, 113
 Old Testament, 244
 O'Mahony, Francis, 293

- O'Neill, Hugh, see Tyrone, Earl of
 Owen Roe, 186
 Opočno, 231
 O'Queely, Malachy, Archbishop of
 Tuam, 291
 Oratoire de France (Oratorians), 268
 Order of the Garter, 228
 Örebro, 54–5
 O'Reilly, Hugh, Archbishop of Armagh,
 290
 Orem, Patrick, 74, 81–2
 Peter, 72, 75, 80
 Thomas, 74
 Orkney, 4, 321
 Ormonde, James Butler, 1st Duke of,
 125, 130, 141
 Ormondist circle, 136
 Ó Ruairc, Manus, 138
 Osborne, John, Sir, 254
 O'Scea, Ciaran, 5, 15, 21, 23, 25, 127,
 132
 Osnabrück, 164, 166
 Öster, 46
 O'Sullivan Beare, family, 114, 116–7
 Dermot, 116
 Philip, 117, 133
 regiment, 131
 O'Sullivan, Patrick, 25
 Otteren, Leonard Henry van, 217, 220
 Ottoman Empire, 154, 217, 221, 223
 Ottomans, 216, 221, 232
 Oxenstierna, Erik Axelsson, 171
 Oxford, Henry De Vere, 18th Earl of,
 248, 255
 Robert De Vere, 19th Earl of, 248

 Pacheco, Francisco, 309
 painting, 185, 217–33, 309, 313
Pakeha, 15
 Pakenham, Philip, Sir, 246
 Palatinate, 185, 244, 246, 248–54, 256,
 275
 Germans in London, 17
 Palatine, Count, 168
 Pale (English), 115
 Papacy, 5, 122, 142–3, 149, 154, 157,
 245, 267, 272, 276–7, 289, 294, 297,
 302, 304–5; see individual popes
 (Martin V)
 Paris, 5, 24, 126, 128, 131–2, 135–6, 143,
 190, 199–200, 207, 262–3, 265, 267,
 269, 271–2, 279–80, 282, 287, 292,
 306–7, 309, 312
 University of, 262, 279
 Parma, duke of, 23

 Parnawa, see Pärnu
 Pärnu, 269, 275–7
 Pastrana, Ruy Gómez de Silva y
 Mendoza, Duque de, 283
 Patan, Jacob, 40
 Paton, Mathew, 93, 97
 Pattillo, Alexander, 38, 57
 Margaret, see Strang, Margaret
 Paul V, Pope, 281
 Paypen, Albert, 72
 Pedersen, Frederick G., 7
 Pedersen, Nina Østby, 21–2
 Pembroke, William Herbert, 3rd Earl
 of, 251
 Peñaranda, Gaspar de Bracamonte y
 Guzmán, Conde de, 144
 Pentreth, Richard, 321
 Percy, Mary, 297
 Pérez Tostado, Igor, 13–4
 Pernegg, Castle of, 216
 Perona, see Pärnu
 Perry, Elizabeth, 313
 Perth, 178
 Peter, Hugh, 247
 Peterson, Agnes, 72
 Anna, 72
 Catherine, 72
 James, 72
 Margaret, 72
 Mary, 72
 Sophia, 72
 William, 71–2, 80
 Petri, George, 81
 Petrie, Alexander, 49, 87, 96, 98–101–2
 George, 87–8, 96–7, 102–3
 Isobel, 88
 Pettegree, Andrew, 17
 Peyton, Henry, Sir, 245, 255
 Philip I, King of Castile, 109
 Philip II, King of Spain, 109, 153, 263,
 279–80, 300, 320–1
 Philip III, King of Spain, 26, 226, 263,
 280–1, 303
 Philip IV, King of Spain, 113, 141–60
 passim., 223, 225–7, 232, 263
 Philip Sigismund, Duke of
 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 163
 Piccolomini, Ottavio, General, 218
 Piedmont, 269, 272
 Plunkett, Fadrique, 120
 Thomas, 292
 Pocock, J.G.A., 14, 16, 20
 Podgórze, 72
 Poland-Lithuania, 4, 6, 9, 18, 25–6, 33,
 35–6, 67–85 *passim.*, 152, 176, 178,

- 181, 183–4, 189–91, 194, 227, 231–2,
267, 272, 275–7
relations with Scotland, 9
- Pole, Mary, O.S.A., 311
Reginald, Cardinal, 289
- Poles, 221, 267, 275–7
- Pomerania, 32, 54, 164–6, 169
Western, 162, 164
- Ponssemothe de L'Étoile, Pierre, 134
- Pont-à-Mousson, 262, 267
- Pontoise, 308
- Poor Clares, 25–6, 299–301, 303–4,
311–4
- Porteous, family, 36
Jacob, 32
James, 32, 38
Johan, 51
Reinhold, 32
- Port-Louis, 131
- portraits, see paintings
- Portugal, 143–5, 149, 152, 157, 160, 313
- Portuguese, 117, 320
religious, 306
- Potts, Mr, 243
- Pourbus, Frans, the Younger, 229
- Poznań, 72
- Prague, 188–9, 218, 226, 272, 282
Castle, 218–9
University, 282
- Presbyterianism/Presbyterians, 36, 88,
99, 101, 104, 197–8, 201, 204–11, 213,
243, 254
- Preston, James, 119
- Primrose, family, 36
- Pritchard, Nicholas, 318–9
- Progers, Henry, 147, 154
Valentine, 146, 155, 159
- Protestantism/Protestant(s), 4–5, 13,
26, 95, 99, 130, 151, 159, 182, 185,
197–214 *passim.*, 229, 237–58 *passim.*,
302–3, 309, 315–6
academies/colleges, 201–3, 206
in Bohemia, 231
in London, 17
in Poland, 84
Irish, 10, 125
soldiers, 12
- Proud, William, 247–8, 255
- Prussia, Royal, 267, 275
- Psalms, 209–10
- Ptuj Castle and estate, 215–36 *passim.*
- Puerto Santa Maria, 145–6
- Punch, John, O.F.M., 284
- Pym, Alexander, 254, 256
John, 254–6
- Quillan, Teague, 18
- Quinn, David B., 129
- Quirke, Thomas, O.P., 288
- Raddou, Adam, 45
- Radziwiłł, Albrycht Stanisław, książę,
275
- Raisp, Ferdinand, 223–5, 227
- Ramsay, family, 32
John, 105
- Randall, Dale J.B., 250
- Rayszchel, Sigismund, see Russell,
Sigismund
- Redworth, Glyn, 11
- Reformation, 3, 292
- Regan, John, O. Cist., 290
- Regensburg, 263, 265, 268
- Reims, 279
- Remonstrance (1317), 5
- Remonstrants, 99
- Rennes, 133
- Rent, Hercules, 80
- Rhine, 26
- Rhinelanders in London, 17
- Ribera, Fernando Enríquez de, see
Alcalá de los Gazules, Duque de
- Richardson, Walter, 40
- Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, Duc
de, 134
- Riga, 32
- Riis, Thomas, 7–8
- Rind, Robert, 46
- Rinuccini, Giovanni Battista, 288
- Ripa, Cesare, 219
- Rivas, Juan Baptista, O.F.M., 145, 147,
150–1
- Roberth, Thomas, 80
- Robertson, Barry, 25–6
Thomas, 74
- Robinson-Hammerstein, Helga, 10
- Roche, John, Bishop of Ferns, 288
Matthew, 290
- Rollin, Francis, 292
- Roman Emperors, 218–9, 223
mythology, 218, 221–3
- Romanowicz, John, 74
- Rome, 142, 154, 199, 245, 262, 265, 267,
271–2, 274, 276–7, 282–4, 286–8, 291,
294–5, 316, 318–9
- Romelman, Anna, 74, 82
James, 76, 82
- Rookwood, family, 303
- Roosendaell, Agnes, 306
- Roscommon, Wentworth Dillon, 4th
Earl of, 131

- Rosenhane, Schering, 166
 Roseveare, Henry, 56–7
 Rospigliosi, Gulio, see Clement IX, Pope
 Rostock, 34
 Roszkowic, Paul, 72
 Rota Romana (Catholic Church), 284
 Rothe, David, 5
 Rotterdam, 15, 21, 24, 27, 33, 58–9,
 87–105 *passim*.
 Scottish Kirk, 33, 87–105 *passim*.
 Rouen, 24, 126, 128, 135, 207, 300,
 313–4
 Rovenius, Philip, 286
 Royalists, 186–7
 Royal Scottish Corporation, 17
 Rudyard, Benjamin, Sir, 256
 Rump Parliament, 141
 Rupert, Prince, Count Palatine, 145, 160
 Rus' palatinate, 80
 Russell, Andrew, 101, 103–4
 Anna, 68
 Elisabeth, 38, 76
 Fabian, 68
 Martin, 76
 Sigismund, 76
 Russia, 9, 178, 191, 231, 268
 Russians, 184, 221
 Ruthven, Patrick, 22, 167–9, 171, 173,
 178–9
 Rychnov nad Knežnou Castle, 225, 227,
 231

 Sabina, Zophia, Lady, 275
 Sackville, Edward, Sir, 253–4
 Sagarra, Eda, 6
 St. Andrews, University of, 205
 Saint-Cyran, 286
 Saint Francis, Tertiary Sisters of, see
 Third Order of the Society of St
 Francis
 Saint Gotthard, Battle of (1664), 232
 St Jean d'Angély, 213
 Saint-Malo, 131, 136
 Saint-Omer, 301, 305, 312, 316
 Salamanca, 263, 279–81, 287
 Sandomierz palatinate, 69, 71–2, 83
 San Sebastian, 150
 Santiago de Compostela, 25, 287
 Sardinia, 112
 Saumur, 201–2, 207
 Scandinavia, 1, 6, 8, 13, 18, 22, 36, 50,
 231, 238, 241
 Scanian War (1675–9), 54
 Schaeij, Elisabet, 45
 Schaw, John, 202

 Schotsman, Jaques de, 94
 Schottendyk, 4
 Schottenkloster, 263, 265, 268, 274
 Schüller, Karin, 11
 Schwartz, Nicholas, 73
 Schwerin, 275
 Schwinge River, 166
 Sciaccia, Domenico, 222
 Scoti, 5–6
 Scotland, 1–5, 7, 16, 26, 32, 59, 89, 92–3,
 101, 103–4, 136, 160, 161–80 *passim*.
 197, 203–4, 206, 208–13, 215–6, 231,
 261–77 *passim*., 298, 322
 Scots, 14, 141–2, 157, 279, 320
 (in) Catholic colleges, 33, 138, 182,
 199–200, 261–77 *passim*., 321
 in Central Europe, 267–8
 in Denmark-Norway, 181
 in England, 59
 in Estonia, 277
 in Europe, 13, 17, 21–2, 24, 35, 59–60,
 125, 181–94 *passim*.
 in France, 136–7, 181, 197–214
 passim.
 in Germany, 19, 58
 in Ireland, 16
 in London, 17, 58
 in Norway, 59
 in Poland-Lithuania, 59, 67–85
 passim., 181, 191
 in Russia, 9
 in Scandinavia, 8
 in Slovenia, 215–36 *passim*.
 in Spanish Netherlands, 25
 in Sweden, 31–60 *passim*., 161–80
 passim., 181, 186, 193
 in the Dutch Republic, 27, 58–9,
 87–105 *passim*., 181, 200, 203
 in the Habsburg territories, 182
 relations with Europe, 13
 Scott, David, 40
 Jonathan, 11, 26
 Scottish, brotherhoods, 33, 72–4, 80–1
 Corporation, 33
 Kirk, 197–8, 205, 208–9, 211–3
 migrants, 16, 20–3, 126, 163–181–2
 religious, 306
 Royalists, 162, 168–9, 171, 173, 176
 Sailor's Box, 104
 soldiers, 19, 22–3, 135, 146, 176, 178,
 180–1, 237–41, 250, 258
 Sedan, 201, 205, 207–9
 University of, 197, 202
 Seguiet, Pierre, 312

- Semple, Hugh, S.J., 263
 James, 44
 Lord, of Lochwinnoch, 263
 William, Colonel, 263
 Sepulchrines (Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre), 306, 310
 Seville, 316
 Sharp, John, 203–5, 209
 Shee, Nicholas, O.F.M., 288
 Shetland, 4
 Shrewsbury, John Talbot, 10th Earl of, 307
 Shropshire, 254
 Sibbald, George, 207
 Sicily, 117
 Sidney, Sir Robert, see Lisle, Viscount
 Siena, 220
 Sigismund III, King of Poland and Sweden, 35–6
 Sigtuna, 32
 Silesia, 78
 Silke, John, 25
 Simons, Joseph, 316
 Simpson, Grant G., 8
 Sinclair, John, 40
 Mr, 19
 Skene, John, Sir, 68
Skottehandelen, 4
Skottetiden, 4
 Skrzynno, 71, 83
 Slavic countries, 23
 Slavonia, 215
 Sławęcki, Wenceslas, 73
 Slovenia, 6, 215–36 *passim*.
 Smidt, John, 75
 Smith, Richard, Bishop of Chalcedon, 286–7
 Smout, T.C., 7
 Sochaczew, 72
 Södermalm, 40, 43
 Soestius, 98
 Sogner, Sølvi, 13
 Son, 98
 Spain, 5, 7, 15, 24, 27, 33, 46, 107–24 *passim.*, 126–8, 132–3, 137–8, 141–60 *passim.*, 182, 227, 231–2, 245, 248, 251, 254–5, 263, 269, 272, 280, 283–5, 300, 321
 Spalding, Andrew, 55
 John, 55
 Spaniards, 309
 Spanish Army of Flanders, 23, 25, 186, 241
 Church, 124
 Flanders, 279–80
 Indies, 107, 109, 113, 123–4
 in London, 17
 military forces, 133, 241
 territories, 126, 128, 131–2
 Spark, William, 146–7, 159
 Sparre, Axel, 50
 Speed, John, 315–6
 Spens, Colonel William, 52
 Spenser, Dorothea, see Sunderland, Countess of
 Edmund, 315
 Speyer, 184
 Spottiswood, John, 197
 Sprunger, Keith, 89
 Stade, 165–6, 169, 171, 174–9
 Steen, Franciscus van der, 217
 Sterlinge, George, 81
 Stevenson, David, 210
 Stewart, Henrietta, 188, 192–3
 Stockholm, 17, 24–5, 27, 31–60 *passim.*, 161–80 *passim*.
 Stockholm, Peace of (20 November 1719), 180
 Shipping Company, 46
 Strachan, Alexander, 203–4
 Jeremiah, 71
 Strachen, John, 76
 Stradling, R. A., 11
 Stralsund, 167
 Strang, Margaret, née Pattillo, 46
 William, 46, 57
 Stravius, Richard, 287
 Strong, Thomas, O.F.M., 289
 Stuart, colonel, 38
 court, 12
 ensign, 59
 family, 36
 House of, 89, 185, 215–36 *passim.*, 307
 Jacob, Captain, 174
 Stucke, Johann, 166
 Styria, 216, 222
 Sunderland, Dorothea Spencer, Countess of, 221
 Svensson, Anders, 40
 Swan, William, 173
 Sweden, 8–9, 18, 31–60 *passim.*, 161–80 *passim.*, 181, 186, 193, 226, 249, 255, 268, 275
 Swedish-Bremen War, First (1654), 174, 178–9
 Civil War (1598), 35–6
 East India Company, 31–2, 56
 Świecie, 275
 Swiss in London, 17
 soldiers, 135

- Switzerland, 18
 Świerczkówna, Eva Susanna, see Dixon, Eva Susanna
 Swords, Liam, 10
 Sylicka, Margaret, see Peterson, Margaret
 Syon Abbey, 300, 306, 310
 Sznok, Lucas, 76
 Szuerin, see Schwerin
 Szwarc, Nicholas, see Schwartz, Nicholas
 Szydłowiec, 85
- Tafferner, Paulus, 217
 Tagus River, 145
 Talbot, John, see Shrewsbury, Earl of
 Talbott, Siobhan, 19, 95
 Tarnów, 76, 80–1
 Tarragona, 121
 Tasso, Torquato, 221
 Tatars, 221
 Teniers, David, the Younger, 230
 Ter Heyde, 254
 Thedinghausen, 173
 Theer, Robert, 217
 Third Order of the Society of St Francis, 25–6
 Thirty Years' War, 22, 162–3, 185, 189, 204, 230, 268, 275
 Thomas, à Becket, Saint, 309
 Thomson, James, 88, 101
 Patrick, 36, 55–7
 Thorn, 176
 Throckmorton, John, Sir, 245
 Tilly, Count of, see Tserclaes, Johann
 Timperly, Elizabeth, O.S.A., 307
 Tipperary, North, 129
 Tirry, William, Bishop of Cork, 290–3
 Toledo, 146
 Törne, Hans Olofsson, 43
 Torr, William, 78
 Torre, Gerónimo de la, 147–8, 150
 Torri, William, 81
 Tortosa, 121
 Toulouse, 128–9, 131
 Tracy, family, 249
 Mary, see Vere, Mary
 Transylvanians, 221
 Trčka family, 231
 Trejo, Cardinal de, 283
 Trim, David, 6, 12–3
 Trojan War, 218–9
 Trotter, John, 94
 Tserclaes, Johann, Count of Tilly, 226
 Tuam, 291
 Tudor, House of, 305
 Turenne, Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de, 184, 197–8
 Turkey, see Ottoman Empire
 Turnbull, George, 269
 Tyburn, 318
 Tyresö, 43
 Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of, 280
 Tyrwhitt, Captain, 254
 William, Captain, 254
 Tytell, George, 76
- Udnie, Peter, 52
 Robert, 32
 Ujazdowski, Andrew, 80
 Ulster, 132–3, 280, 285
 Plantation, 16, 129, 133
 Union of Arms, 113
 Union, (British) Treaty of (1707), 56
 United Provinces, see Netherlands
 Urban VIII, Pope, 283–4, 290
 Utrecht, 92, 96, 200, 243
- Valencia, kingdom of, 109
 Valladolid, 158, 263, 316, 318–21
 Valparaíso, Francisco González de Andía, Marqués de, 151
 Van Dyck, Anthony, Sir, 221, 228
 Västerbergslagen, 46
 Västervik Shipping Company, 46
 Vättinge, 43
 Vegesack, 174
 Veinte, Carlos, 148
 Veitch, James, 101
 Velada, Antonio Sancho Dávila de Toledo y Colonna, Marqués de, 151
 Velázquez, Diego, 226–7
 Venice (Republic), 148, 153–4, 217, 255
 Verden, 19, 27, 32, 161–80 *passim*.
 Vere, Edward, Sir, 245–6, 248
 family, 248
 Horace, Sir, 243–4, 246, 248–9, 251–3
 John, 248, 255
 Mary, 248–9
 Vermeir, René, 12
 Verney, Edmund, 257
 Versailles, 230
 Verstegan, Richard, 302
 Viborg, 32
 Vidmar, Polona, 26
 Vienna, 188–9, 216–8, 220–1, 224–7, 229–30, 282

- Schottenkirche* in, 218
 Siege of (1683), 216, 232
 Villach, 226
 Vincent de Paul, Saint, 134
 Vincentians, see Lazarists
 Vitelleschi, Muzio, 272
 Voetius, Gilbertus, 102
 Vurberk Castle, 216, 221
- Waddell, Alexander, 56
 Wadding, Luke, O.F.M., 281–4, 287
 Wales, 1–2, 6, 16, 237–58 *passim.*, 298, 317
 Wallenstein, Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von, Herzog von Friedland, 215, 225, 231
 Waller, William, Sir, 253
 Wall regiment, 131
 Walloons, 241
 in London, 17
 in Spain, 124
 in Sweden, 60
 Walsh, Martin, O.F.M., 284
 Thomas, Archbishop of Cashel, 281, 283, 289
 T. J., 10
 Wangelin, Bernhard Christian, Major General, regiment of, 179
 Ward, Mary, 301, 304–5
 Wardlaw, 20
 Warsaw, 192
 Battle of (28–30 July 1656), 176
 Wars of the Huguenots, 12, 229
 Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 93, 96, 173, 185–6, 190, 310
 Waterford, 282, 285, 292
 Watson, Hans, 200
 James, 49–50
 Robert, 57
 Watten, 318
 Wawel castle, 68
 Webb, Diana, 11
 Weber, Sebastian, 76
 Węgrzynowic, Albert, 73
 Wellam, 37
 Welsh, John, 203–4, 206–7, 210, 213
 Welsh, 6, 14
 in Europe, 11, 13
 in London, 17
 migrants, 20
 religious, 306
 soldiers, 237–58 *passim.*
- Wentworth, Henry, 252–3
 John, Sir, of Gosfield, 252–3
 Michael, 253
 Weser River, 164–5, 174
 West India, 17
 Western Isles, 281
 Westminster Abbey, 158
 Assembly, 97
 Westphalia, 165, 170
 Peace of (1648), 164, 178
 Wexford, 129
 Wheate, Mr, 254
 White Mountain, Battle of (1620), 244
 White, William, S.J., 115
 Whitehall, 12
 Wietrzychowska, Katarzyna, 76
 ‘Wild Geese’, 125
 William III and II, King of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 156, 160, 184, 187, 224–5, 229, 314
 Williams, James, 94
 Williamson, family, 32
 Willoughby, Lord, see Bertie, Robert
 Wilson, James, 40
 John, 72
 Wimbledon, Edward Cecil, Viscount, 243
 Winchilsea, Finch, Earl of, 233
 Windsor Castle, 228
 Wiseman, family, 303
 Wismar, 164
 Wiśniowieckis, 232
 Witkowski, Nicholas, 73–4
 Wittelsbach, House of, 232
 Wittenberg von Debern, Arvid, 172–3
 Witzleben, G.M., 172
 Władysław IV Zygmunt, King of Poland-Lithuania, 72, 275–7
 Wolfgang, A.M., 217
 Wolters, Abraham, 57
 Wood, Richard, 39
 Worcester, Battle of (3 September 1651), 171
 Worthington, David, 9, 182, 233
 Wrangel, Carl Gustaf, Major General and General Governor, 169–72, 178
 Wright, George, 32
 James, 100
 Joseph Michael, 229
 Wrocław, see Breslau
 Wulson, John, 74
 Wurm, Hans, 40
 Wurmberg Castle, see Vurberk Castle
 Würzburg, 263, 265, 268

- York, 302, 305
Yorkshire, 305
Youghal, 25
Young, Albert, *see* Gilbert Jung
 Daniel Leijonancker, 42–4, 46–7,
 51–6, 58–9, 193
 Gilbert, 75
 John R., 7
Ypres, 298
Zamość, 80, 176
Zawadzki, Jan, Lord, 275–7
 Stanisław, 78
 Udislaus, 275–7
Zeeland, 156
Zeven, 168, 170, 173
Zickermann, Kathrin, 19, 21, 32
Złomański, Paul, 72
Zutter, Paul, 73

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